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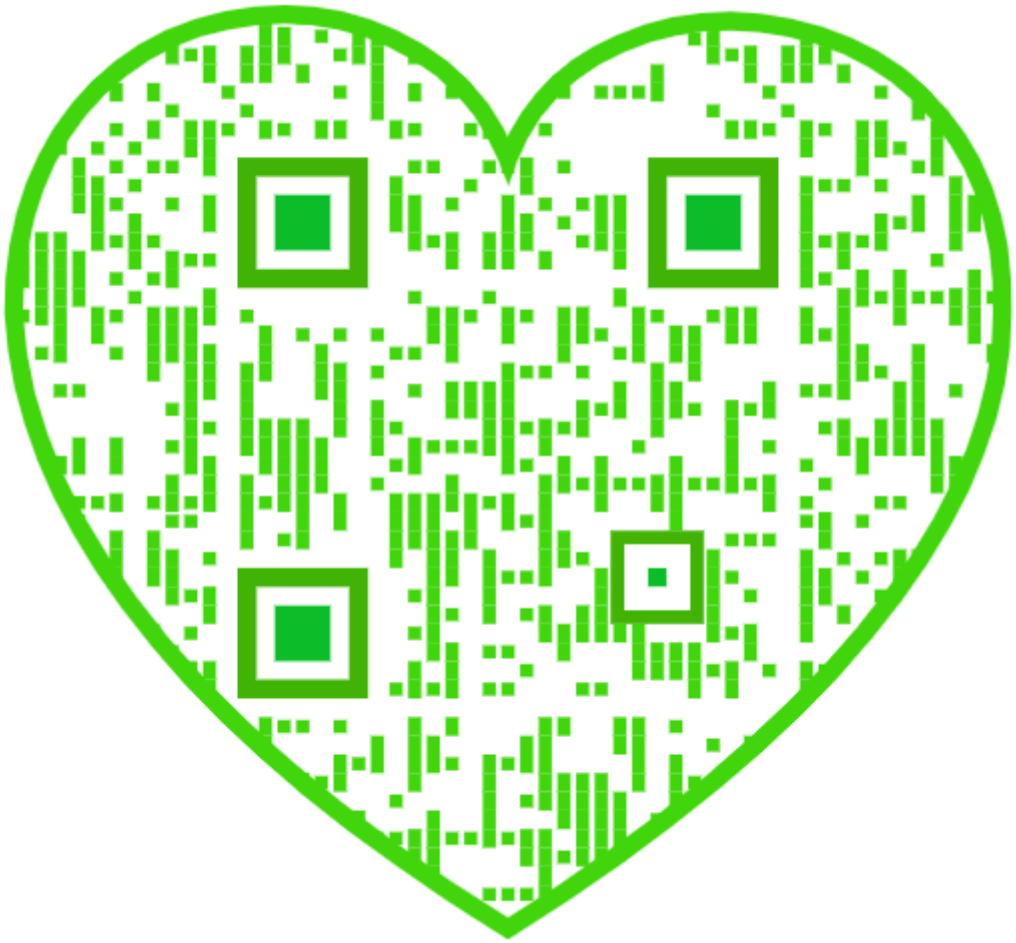

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The Muckraking Books of Pearson, Allen, and Anderson

By Douglas A. Anderson

Muckraking – possibly defined most succinctly as "reform journalism" that exposes faults in American society – has been categorized as a "cyclical" tradition.[1] In a speech on April 14, 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt applied the "muckraking" label to crusading journalists.[2] The label became firmly affixed to the reform journalists of the day, "whether or not they deserved the odium explicit in the President's application of the epithet."[3]

Judson A. Grenier defined Progressive Era muckrakers as those "who participated in the expose movement...by writing investigatory articles for mass-circulation magazines and newspapers."[4] Louis Filler wrote that "the crux of muckraking was the realistic analysis of the deeper maladjustments of society."[5] This same historian pointed out that muckraking has two reputations: "significant exposure without fear or favor, on one side, and of shabby and malicious rumor-mongering, on the other."[6]

John M. Harrison and Harry H. Stein wrote: "Some have argued that the definition of muckraking depends on the political and ideological sympathies of those who do the defining."[7] The writers continued:

> Muckraking has evoked strong, even visceral reactions because it has dealt with the kinds of issues in this century – prison conditions, abuse of political office, and economic exploitation, for instance – that nearly guarantee such evocations.[8]

Roosevelt applied the label "muckraking" in a derogatory manner, but perceptions of the term have fluctuated. According to Grenier:

> Invective slipped from its syllables, connotations of evil faded and disappeared. Raking the muck on Rooseveltian conditions

DOUGLAS A. ANDERSON (Ph. D., Journalism, Southern Illinois University) is associate professor of journalism at Arizona State University. He is the author of *A "Washington Merry-Go-Round" of Libel Actions, Electronic News Editing, Contemporary News Reporting,* and *Contemporary Sports Reporting.* He has authored articles that have appeared in *Journalism Quarterly, Newspaper Research Journal,* and other scholarly and professional journals.

(commercial gain, pursuit of the devil) gave way to a name summing up the entire expose movement, the good with the bad. It remained for the magazine writers themselves to accept the term, and like the contemporary advertising specialist to emphasize the positive aspects.[9]

Muckraking during the twentieth century's first decade commanded much attention, but articles of investigative exposure still abound. Muckraking was widely practiced during its classical period of 1902-1912. It waned, but occasionally was found in the 1920s. Revived during the Depression, it existed on a small but noticeable scale after World War II, and gained increasing attention during the social unrest of the 1960s and Watergate revelations and political scandals of the 1970s.[10]

Historians have emphasized that during periods of perceived prosperity, like the 1920s, muckraking is not likely to flourish.[11] The reform spirit was kindled during the 1930s, however, partially through the efforts of syndicated columnists Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen.[12] One writer capsulized the importance of the "Washington Merry-Go-Round" column in keeping the muckraking spirit alive during this bleak period:

> Mixing gossip and muckraking, the columns and broadcasts of Drew Pearson from the 1930s onward achieved considerable public influence despite mild support from the mass media and mass audiences for muck-raking.[13]

The Progressive Era muckrakers wrote on a variety of themes; the most pervasive centered upon "big business,"[14] government,[15] and consumer protection.[16] These themes, still apparent in the writings of reporters of investigative exposure today,[17] have been a staple of the "Merry-Go-Round" since the column was launched more than a half century ago. Pearson, for example, called for Medicare, better meat inspection, oil pipeline safety, and health warnings for cigarettes – all before these causes became fashionale. He used the "Merry-Go-Round" to push for legislation he favored. Pearson even carried his influence one step further: he often instructed his legmen to "warn (congressional) committee members of reprisals if they voted wrong."[18] His work fits solidly into the muckraking tradition.

Time magazine, shortly after World War II, said Pearson's "brand of ruthless, theatrical, crusading, high-voltage hypodermic journalism" had made him "the most intensely feared and hated man in Washington." The magazine also noted that, "Like oldtime muckrakers Lincoln Steffens and Ida M. Tarbell, Pearson hates wickedness. But these reformers had more time to draw a bead on it, and never needed, or thought they needed, seven sensations a week to stay in business."[19]

When Pearson died in 1969, the New York *Times* editorialized:

> Drew Pearson was a descendent of the tradition made feared and famous by such earlier practitioners as Lincoln Steffens and Upton Sinclair. For 36 years until his death at 71, his column adapted the untiring and often merciless skill of investigative

political reporting, known popularly as muckraking, to the modern idiom of the insider's gossip.[20]

Anderson once wrote of his predecessor: "Of all the names he was called during four decades as Washington's top investigative reporter, muckraker was the one he liked best." Anderson said it was "symbolic of his career as a columnist, fighting the powerful and the privileged when he found them using the government to advance themselves."[21]

Anderson, who inherited the column upon Pearson's death, has continued the muckraking tradition. He has been labeled "the most celebrated practitioner of the muckraking tradition"[22] and the "outstanding muckraker of the times."[23] His columns deal consistently with government, big business, and social concerns.[24]

Writers of the controversial "Merry-Go-Round" column – primarily the late Pearson and Allen and now Anderson – are known mainly for their daily revelations and their ability to generate disputes and lawsuits.

Pearson or his subscribing newspapers, for example, were sued more than 100 times during a 37-year period for aggregate libel damages in excess of $90 million, including the 68 suits brought by Ohio Congressman Martin L. Sweeney;[25] Sen. Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin once called Pearson an "unprincipled liar and fake" who polluted "otherwise fine newspapers" and who "poisoned" the airwaves;[26] President Franklin D. Roosevelt called Pearson a "chronic liar";[27] President Harry S Truman labeled him an "S.O.B.";[28] and Sen. Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee said the muckraker was "an ignorant liar, a pusillanimous liar, a peewee liar, and ... a paid liar."[29] Anderson, who was considered an arch nemesis by President Richard Nixon's White House staff,[30] responded to Administration tactics by filing a suit seeking $22 million in damages from Nixon and 19 subordinates.[31]

The columnists, however, like many journalists of investigative exposure,[32] have extended their writings beyond daily newspaper accounts; they have carried on their muckraking crusade in book form. During the Depression years, Pearson and Allen co-authored four muckraking books: *Washington Merry-Go-Round* (1931), *More Merry-Go-Round* (1932), *The Nine Old Men* (1936), and *Nine Old Men at the Crossroads* (1937).[33] Pearson later collaborated with his designated successor, Anderson, to write *U.S.A.–Second Class Power*[0] (1958) and *The Case Against Congress* (1968).[34] Both belong in the muckraking category. Anderson, meanwhile, has written five books that belong in this category: *McCarthy: the Man, the Senator, the "Ism"* (with Ronald May in 1952), *Washington Expose* (1967), *American Government ... Like It Is* (with Carl Kalvelage in 1972), *The Anderson Papers* (1973), and *Confessions of a Muckraker* (with James Boyd in 1979).[35]

The daily newspaper exposes of "Merry-Go-Round" columnists have received much attention. The purpose of this article, however, is to examine the writers' muckraking books; non-muckraking books by the authors are not within the scope of this examination. These books, which have not been collectively explored, have achieved a certain notoriety and have helped to solidify the label one author placed on the column and its writers: "Muckrakers, Inc."[36]

The Pearson-Allen Books

Actually, the "Washington Merry-Go-Round" column, which was launched in 1932, inherited its title from a 1931 book written anonymously by Pearson and Allen. *Washington Merry-Go-Round* was described by one Pearson biographer as "an expose which bared the warts of heretofore sacrocanct politicians and society leaders."[37] In writing the book, Pearson and Allen were able to free themselves from the tight editing and close scrutiny of conservative newspaper editors. Pearson worked as State Department correspondent for the Baltimore *Sun* and Allen as chief of the *Christian Science Monitor*'s Washington bureau. Frustrated by not being able to "tell all" about Washington politics and society in their respective newspaper jobs, the two men found comfort in being given the opportunity to write the book. The 1931 book and the subsequent Pearson-Allen books of the 1930s have been credited with restoring "to the capital the pejorative journalism" that had been missing.[38]

One writer said "demolishing Herbert Hoover was the single most important political purpose" of *Washington Merry-Go-Round*.[39] The authors did indeed come down hard on President Hoover:

> He began his term with a Congress overwhelmingly Republican in both branches. Twenty months later a disillusioned and bitter electorate swept these majorities away....He took over the reigns of a party flushed with victory and high in morale. Today, it is furtive, besmirched, and disorganized....He came in on the high tide of prosperity which he claimed was wholly the act of the Republican Party....A year later millions were walking the streets out of work.[40]

Not surprisingly, Hoover asked the Division of Investigation (the forerunner of the Federal Bureau of Investigation) to find out who wrote the book. The authors' identities were learned. Hoover vowed never to speak to Pearson again, and he never did.[41]

Allen and Pearson also minced no words when discussing the House of Representatives, which they labeled "the greatest organized inferiority complex in the world." The authors said that

> ...contrary to general belief, its major occupation is not legislation but trying to make itself appear important and significant. The fact that this is patently impossible, the House being constituted as it is, has not deterred that body from its vain pursuit. It is this blind groping for some means of making itself a respected and significant body that is one of the basic causes for the ready subserviency of the House to boss rule.[42]

Despite the many Washington shortcomings Allen and Pearson discussed, they made it clear that "as long as the preponderant majority of American newspapers are trivial, reactionary and subservient, the work of the Washington press corps will reflect these debasing influences." They wrote that only a "fractional minority" of journalists "are their own masters." In-

stead, the "throttle hand on news is not in Washington, where it transpires, but on the owner's desk."[43]

More Merry-Go-Round was published a year later. It was essentially an extension of the muck that had been raked in the first book. For example, a chapter was devoted to "The Mutes"—the U.S. Senate. According to the authors, the senators occupied cushioned seats in the Chamber and collected their pay, but they did little more. Pearson and Allen wrote:

> There are two species of Senate Mutes: those who never talk, and those who, even when they do, rise and rend the air, still say nothing. The latter slightly outnumber their silent colleagues, but there is no difference between them in intellectual vacuity. In this respect honors are equally low and uniformly dismal.[44]

Though written on a lighter plane, this evaluation of the Senate was similar to that of David Graham Phillips' *The Treason of the Senate* which was written three decades earlier.[45]

Pearson and Allen's next book, *The Nine Old Men*, was an indictment of the conservative Supreme Court. Its language, for the most part, was not as restrained as that of Bob Woodward and Scott Armstrong in *The Brethren*.[46] The tenor of Pearson and Allen's book was set on a page opposite the table of contents. The authors quoted from a speech Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes had delivered while he was governor of New York in 1908:

> When there is muck to be raked, it must be raked, and the public must know of it, that it may mete out justice.... Publicity is a great purifier, because it sets in motion the forces of public opinion, and in this country public opinion controls the courses of the nation.[47]

Taking Hughes at his word, Pearson and Allen did not spare the Chief Justice in their book: "Despite his stately bearing, Charles Evans Hughes today is the most pathetic figure on the Supreme Court."[48] Justice Roberts also felt the verbal sting: "Owen Roberts is the biggest joke ever played upon the fighting liberals of the United States Senate. He was confirmed by them as one of their number. He has turned out to be the foremost meat-axer of their cause."[49]

Putting their prose to vivid detail, the authors wrote that Justice Willis Van Devanter, then dean of the Court in length of service (twenty-six years), had three claims to fame: "He is a fanatical reactionary. He is a fanatical dry. And he is afflicted with what psychiatrists call 'neurotic pen,' described in the vernacular as 'literary constipation.'"[50]

Chief Justice Hughes was termed "The Man on the Flying Trapeze." The authors said Hughes ran "back and forth so frantically between the liberals on one side and the reactionaries on the other in an effort to preserve harmony that he has lost the respect of both."[51] Justice Van Devanter was named "The Dummy Director";[52] and Justice James Clark McReynolds was called a "tragic, lonely figure" who could not get along with his colleagues on the bench or with himself.

Continuing with colorful language, the authors said McReynolds' "opinions are notorious for their sloppiness and undoubtedly fall in the category Justice (Benjamin N.) Cardozo once described as 'tonsorial or agglutinative, so called from the shears and the paste pot which are its implements and emblem.'"[53] Pearson and Allen told of the time when Supreme Court clerks and attendants "got into an argument as to who was the stupidest justice on the bench. The debate narrowed down to (Justice Pierce) Butler and McReynolds. Finally, it was decided in favor of the latter, although one point never definitely was determined, namely, whether McReynolds is chiefly stupid or lazy. Apparently, however, he is both."[54]

The follow-up to this critique of the Supreme Court justices was *Nine Old Men at the Crossroads*, published after President Franklin Roosevelt revealed his glorified "court packing" plan.[55] The concluding chapter, "Swing Man," was a continued criticism of Justice Roberts. He was the "swing vote" in *West Coast Hotel Co. v. Parrish*,[56] which signaled an attitudinal change by the Court toward New Deal legislation. Pearson and Allen pointed to the viewpoints expressed by Roberts a year earlier regarding the New York Minimum Wage Act,[57] which he decided was unconstitutional, and his philosophical turnabout in *West Coast Hotel Co.* The last sentence of the book contained an obvious reference to Chief Justice Hughes' oft-quoted remark that "we are under a Constitution, but the Constitution is what the judges say it is."[58] Pearson and Allen concluded: "The Constitution now is what Justice Roberts says it is."[59]

Though muckraking, at least as it was known during the Progressive era, was not being practiced widely during the pre-World War II period, the country had not seen the last of it, and certainly Pearson and Allen had done their share during the Depression years. According to one writer:

> Until Pearson and others launched their style of national reporting, there had been an aura of sanctity about the White House, the Supreme Court and the Federal Government in general. Thanks to the columnists, Washington stopped being a mystery to the American people. Affairs of state began to be available to the average citizen. He no longer had to take government policies on faith.[60]

The Pearson-Anderson Books

Anderson worked for Pearson for nearly a quarter-century, from 1947 until the latter's death in 1969. During that time, as newspaper subscribers to the column increased to more than 600 – partly due to the use of "tantalizing gossip and slangy language"[61] – the columnists co-authored two muckraking books.

In *U. S. A.'s Second-Class Power*[62], the authors compiled a critical evaluation of the United States as a secondary power in the scientific and military spheres. The book was published shortly after the successful Soviet Union sputnik launch; it concluded that Russia had progressed in these vital areas while American "politics" hindered its own advances. In true muckraking fashion, the authors said their primary purpose was to inform the people in

order that action might be taken:

> It is not pleasant to criticize the United States of America. He who does so is accused of losing faith in his country. But the American people cannot meet the challenge of the powerful, tireless government that threatens them if they are fed sugar-coated half-truths and soothing syrup. They must know the facts.[62]

One analysis of the book emphasized that none of the Pearson-Anderson arguments was new, but the facts were presented in a different style:

> What Pearson brings to his indictment of the White House and Pentagon is a roster of sensational disclosures which, if true, should scandalize the nation. However, his charges cannot be documented or verified. Hence, the bulk of the book is journalistic sensationalism. However, it is a popular kind of journalism and may generate interest in the public.[63]

Another reviewer also was noticeably irritated by lack of documentation in the book. He compared it to the "Merry-Go-Round" column: aggressive, raucous, and occasionally sensational. Nevertheless, the reviewer refused to take the book lightly: "Time and again in the past Pearson revelations have been confirmed....Under the sensationalism there is a crusading spirit."[64]

Cast in the muckraking tradition, *The Case Against Congress* was written, according to the authors, "to bring the shady doings on Capitol Hill into the full light of the sun and thus, perhaps, to stimulate a public demand for genuine Congressional reform."[65] A substantial portion of the book was devoted to the rise and fall of Sen. Thomas J. Dodd, a Connecticut Democrat.[66] Pearson and Anderson cited countless examples of senators with conflicts of interest; denounced a "small clique of tired old men who have achieved power by their dogged ability to hold on to their seats";[67] and told of the exploits of an army of lobbyists, all pushing the interests of their employers. In a cry as old as muckraking itself, the authors claimed:

> The symbols of autocratic power with which Congress has armed itself may tend to make Congressmen forget that they were merely employees of the people – but they would do well to remember that an informed public can bring about a change in the ethical standards of Congress by mandating a change in its membership.[68]

One historian emphasized that the "twin themes" of *The Case Against Congress* – "the corruption of American political institutions and leaders by privilege-seeking individuals, groups and institutions, and the abuses of power consequent to the successes of privilege acting on political leaders and within political institutions" – made for "an almost classic muckraking formulation."[69]

Indeed, Pearson constantly wrote of governmental, societal, and business

shortcomings – just as the Progressive era journalists of investigative exposure before him had done.

Anderson has carried on the tradition. Though Anderson has been on the ground floor of several significant muckraking scoops, it is difficult to evaluate his influence, as was the case also with the Progressive muckrakers. No laws have been passed as a result of his columns or books, but a number of former incumbents are now "retired" because of him.[70] His influence, however, has spread beyond his "Merry-Go-Round" columns and the books he co-authored with Pearson.

The Anderson Books

Anderson's first book (co-authored with Ronald May), *McCarthy: the Man, the Senator, the "Ism,"* was essentially an account of the life of Sen. Joseph McCarthy, from his early days on a Wisconsin farm to his position in the U. S. Senate. Obviously belonging in the muckraking category, the book was described as a "voluminous demonstration of the black, repetitive, parthenogentic deceit that is the distinguishing and inseperable mark" of McCarthy.[71]

According to the blurb about the authors that appeared in the front of the book, Anderson and May, who had been a radio news writer for the Madison, Wisconsin, office of United Press and chief record clerk of the Wisconsin State Senate, knew McCarthy "well." The blurb even pointed out that McCarthy had attended Anderson's wedding reception in 1949. The authors combined observations from their personal involvements with McCarthy with scores of interviews and searches of public records in writing the book.

The explicit language of the book left no doubt where Anderson and May stood on McCarthy:

> "Tail-Gunner" Joe McCarthy, who shot up the coconut trees in the South Pacific – once breaking the record for firing the most rounds in a single day – was shooting wildly again. From his foxhole of Senatorial immunity, he blazed away at the Communist menace, shooting first and asking "Who goes there?" afterwards. Many public servants, standing like coconut trees in Joe's way, were hit; and he broke the record for firing the most charges from the Senate floor in a day.
>
> But the press and public were so blinded by the fireworks of Joe's broadsides that no one seemed to notice where he was getting his ammunition.[72]

In a book the columnist wrote nearly three decades later, Anderson reflected on his McCarthy work. He said the book "was aimed at providing the scattered anti-McCarthy movement with a complete arsenal under one cover." Anderson also recalled the difficulty in finding a publisher for the book:

> For a while our literary venture seemed doomed. Publisher after publisher rejected it, rejections the more dampening to the ego of a fledgling author because McCarthy was so obviously a timely

> subject; no book on him had yet appeared though he had been the most controversial figure in the land for more than two years. Drew salved my spirits, blaming the fear of the big publishers to tangle with a McCarthy who was on the rise and who had been not unsuccessful at organizing reprisals.[73]

The Beacon Press of Boston, described by Anderson as "a little-known house," finally decided to publish the book. Anderson, however, later said he was embarrassed by an almost apologetic "announcement" on the book's jacket:

> This book has been rigorously checked for factual accuracy. If, in spite of these precautions, substantive errors in statement of fact slip by, then Beacon, in co-operation with the authors, upon receipt of documentation, will promptly issue a supplement for all copies of the book printed. These will be distributed free of charge. Take this coupon to your bookseller or mail to the Editors of the Beacon Press, 25 Beacon St., Boston 8, Mass. Please print name and address below, and enclose self-addressed envelope.[74]

Fortunately for Anderson, the success of the McCarthy book and the writer's growing reputation helped make it easier for him to land book contracts in the future.

In *Washington Expose*, Anderson elaborated on many issues that had been given attention in the "Merry-Go-Round" column. He muckraked Washington lobbying, the Congressional seniority system, wiretapping, and the Central Intelligence Agency. Though the book was typically Anderson — hard-nosed and to the point — Frederick L. Holborn called it "sophomoric" and condemned it for "hasty writing, frequent italicizing...and lack of a unifying theme." In a particular blast at Anderson, the reviewer said:

> Compared to Pearson and Allen's *Washington Merry-Go-Round*, published in 1931, this book is a sad disappointment. The first was pungent, witty, acerbic, and often penetrating. *Washington Expose* is soggy and shapeless and will do nothing to establish Mr. Anderson's claim to succession.[75]

In all likelihood, Anderson was not trying to lay claim to literary excellence; rather, the book represented a collection of contemporary news issues.

Apparently undaunted by the criticism of his literary adroitness, Anderson teamed with Carl Kalvelage in 1972 on a book intended to be used as a supplement to American government texts. In *American Government...Like it is*, the writers said that in order to understand American government, the student must know both its strengths and weaknesses: "This book points out many of those weaknesses; the class texts describe the strengths."[76]

The book covers many of the topics of a conventional government text: the Congress, lobbyists, the presidency, the bureaucracy, the judiciary, civil

liberties, the news media and the public, foreign policy, and government spending. But this book, cast in the muckraking tradition, is more graphic in its descriptions. For example, the authors contend:

> Congressmen, no matter how lofty their motives, have been flattered into believing that they are different from the rest of us, as if the process of election has somehow lifted them above other Americans and made them more knowing, more worthy and less subject to reproach than the people who elect them.[77]

The authors also discuss the congressional "senility system": "The new Members never become really effective until they become old Members. This partiality for old age is referred to in American government texts as the seniority system. We call it the senility system."[78]

Lobbying methods are not spared by the authors: "If lobbying techniques have grown sophisticated, the name of the game is still the same: special interest. Lobbyists may call themselves legislative counsels or Washington representatives....But they are still hired, in the final analysis, to sell their client's special interest."[79]

Just as Pearson and Allen were critical of the Charles Evans Hughes Supreme Court of the 1930s, Anderson and Kalvelage were blunt about Chief Justice Warren Burger and his Court:

> The fact is, that since Warren Burger took over as Chief Justice, it has become harder and harder to tell the Supreme Court from King Arthur's Court. The redoubtable Chief Justice, with his pompadoured white mane combed back and his black robe flowing, may not be the court's best legal scholar, but he's tops in handsomeness and high-handedness.[80]

Anderson, riding a high tide of popularity when his 1973 book, *The Anderson Papers*, was published, logically took the opportunity to recount his successes. The muckraker told, in detail, about the ITT-Dita Beard adventure and about Watergate; and he amplified upon his earlier reporting of the India-Pakistani War, for which he was awarded a Pulitzer Prize.[81] In addition, he discussed one of his biggest bungles: the Thomas Eagleton story.[82] The book also gave Anderson the opportunity to elaborate on his perceived role as a reporter:

> Investigative reporters must work harder, dig deeper, and verify their facts more carefully than establishment reporters. Preposterous lies can be told to make the powerful look good; grievous blunders can be committed by officials in the name of government; the public can be cheated by men sworn to uphold the public trust. But let an investigative reporter make a mistake and there will be howls of protest.[83]

Anderson also criticized some established practices of the press: "All too

many who write about government have been seduced by those who govern. The press, like the powerful, often forgets its obligations to the public."[84]

Anderson's latest book, *Confessions of a Muckraker*, written with James Boyd, provides valuable insights into the major muckraking investigations of "Merry-Go-Round" writers during the Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson years. The book focuses on *how* the muckrakers went after some of their biggest stories.

Anderson also discusses not only Pearson the columnist, but Pearson the man. One excerpt capsulizes Pearson's self-perceived role in the resolution of important public issues:

> Here was a situation that prompted Drew Pearson to act out the life role he most enjoyed, that of maximum politico – part intelligence sleuth, part commentator, part lobbyist, part propagandist, part conspirator, part caucus-master. The sun was in its heaven when Drew could make a damning discovery or hatch a pregnant idea, cajole a senator into making a speech about it, write the speech for him, enlist other senators to be on hand to praise the speech, sit in the press gallery to hear it delivered and praised, write a column celebrating it and its remarkable Senate reception, begin his agitations for Senate hearings, and personally call on the appropriate Cabinet member to advise him of the groundswell rising behind a movement he'd better get out in front of.[85]

Clearly, through the daily "Merry-Go-Round" column and the behind-the-scenes dealings and muckraking books of its primary writers, the journalistic phenomenon called muckraking has been carried on for more than a half century.

Discussion

The reportorial muckraking knot has been retied continually during this century. Writers of one particular syndicated newspaper column, the "Washington Merry-Go-Round," have been categorized as prominent muckrakers for more than fifty years. Even when it was not in vogue, they practiced their muckraking trade. The men are best known for their tenacious, unrelenting, piercing – and sometimes careless – newspaper columns. But their muckraking writings go beyond the daily column. During the past fifty years, Pearson, Allen and Anderson produced at least eleven books which can be placed in the muckraking category. To an extent, many of the books touched on topics that had been discussed in daily "Merry-Go-Round" columns. In book form, however, the writers were able to probe deeper into their subjects.

The Pearson-Allen books of the 1930s are particularly interesting for writing style and content. *Washington Merry-Go-Round*, the forerunner of the column, made an instant impact in social and political circles. Readers, apparently hungry for its novel, aggressive reporting, made the book a big seller. Allen and Pearson made it clear in the book's opening chapter that their work would not be a stale, stagnate essay on life in the nation's capital.

In the initial chapter, "Boiled Bosoms," the authors talked of the "half dozen middle-aged or aging ladies who absolutely dominate the social stage....They crack the whip, and they crack it with all the grimness of the tamer who must inspire fawning obedience or retire from the ring."[86] Their description of political life was equally vivid and entertaining.

The two Pearson-Allen books that dealt with the U.S. Supreme Court also went beyond the bounds of then-traditional Washington reporting. Almost as if the authors felt there should be some historical justification for their groundbreaking criticisms of the Court, they quoted from Justice David J. Brewer, who served from 1890 to 1910:

> It is a mistake to suppose that the Supreme Court is either honored or helped by being spoken of as beyond criticism....The time is past in the history of the world when any living man or body of men can be set on a pedestal and decorated with a halo.[87]

The Pearson-Allen books of the 1930s also provide clues about how the muckrakers viewed their jobs and how they perceived the Washington press corps. Though Pearson and Allen pointed to shortcomings in the press corps, they placed most of the blame elsewhere: on newspaper ownership. The authors claimed that the fundamental problem was not lack of quality correspondents. Rather, Pearson and Allen said that news columns would continue to be filled with "White House propaganda and idiotic blurbs" about Congressmen until "more independent, honest, enlightened, and courageous newspapers" were founded.[88]

These early Pearson-Allen books helped whet the public's appetite for this type of reporting. The books of the 1930s were followed by more than four decades of Pearson and Anderson muckraking books and columns.

Most of Anderson's contemporary books have sold well, but they have not achieved the notoriety of Pearson's early works. This, however, is not surprising. Pearson's books in the 1930s were published when investigative journalism was not as widespread as it is today. Pearson's books were unique in his era and, as stated above, helped to make the public hungry for more investigative reporting in columns and book form.

Anderson's philosophy has remained consistent with that of the Progressive era muckrakers and his predecessor, Pearson:

> We have tried, in our own way, to become a watchdog of Washington, to be numbered among the few investigative reporters who seek to discover what is really happening in the nation's capital....Investigative reporters grate against the political conviviality and easy friendships of official Washington.[89]

Like his predecessor, Anderson has not limited his findings and opinions to his daily newspaper columns in his quest to police the federal government and its officials. His books have been an effective avenue of communication.

Indeed, through their eleven books, "Merry-Go-Round" columnists

Pearson, Allen, and Anderson found another forum in which to air their concerns and philosophies about the governmental, societal, and business issues that permeate American life.

NOTES

[1]Carey McWilliams, "The Continuing Tradition of Reform Journalism," in John Harrison and Harry Stein, eds., *Muckraking: Past, Present and Future* (University Park, Pa., 1973), pp. 118-34. See also John M. Harrison and Harry H. Stein, "Muckraking: Present and Future," in Harrison and Stein, p. 138, and "The Square Scourge of Washington," *Time*, 41 (April 3, 1972), p. 41.

[2]Hermann Hagedorn, ed. *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, Vol. XVIII (New York, 1925), p. 572. The President recalled John Bunyan's description in *Pilgrim's Progress* of the man with the muckrake. Roosevelt said the muckraker "typifies the man who in this life consistently refuses to see aught that is lofty, and fixes his eyes with solemn intentness only on that which is vile and debasing." *Ibid.*, pp. 572-73. President Roosevelt applied the term "muckraking" in 1906 but there are several examples of reform journalism before the turn of the twentieth century. Journalism educator Warren T. Francke wrote: "While overshadowed by the Muckraking Era...the sensational, crusading, muckraking investigative exposures of the nineteenth century have not been entirely ignored. To a great extent, changing genre, changing conceptual terms and changing social conditions served to separate common journalistic experience. From time to time, the enduring line of reportorial experience has been reknotted." Warren Francke, "Investigative Exposure in the Nineteenth Century: The Journalistic Heritage of the Muckrakers," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1974, p. 190.

[3]C. C. Regier, *The Era of the Muckrakers* (Chapel Hill, 1932), p. 2.

[4]Judson A, Grenier, "Muckraking and the Muckrakers: An Historical Definition," *Journalism Quarterly* 37 (Fall 1960), p. 558. Grenier's article provides an excellent overview of the definitional underpinnings of the term "muckraking."

[5]Louis Filler, *Crusaders for American Liberalism* (Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1950), p. 53.

[6]Louis Filler, "The Muckrakers and Middle America," in Harrison and Stein, *Muckraking*, p. 25.

[7]Harry H. Stein and John M. Harrison, "Muckraking Journalism in Twentieth-Century America," in Harrison and Stein, *Muckraking*, p. 12.

[8]*Ibid.* p. 11.

[9]Grenier, p. 555.

[10]McWilliams, pp. 118-34.

[11]*Ibid.*, pp. 120-21.

[12]Pearson and Allen started the "Washinton Merry-Go-Round" column in November 1932. The column was popular. After only eighteen months, 270 newspapers were subscribing to it. Charles Fisher, *The Columnists* (New York, 1944), pp. 237-38.

[13]Harry Stein, "The Muckraking Book in America, 1946-1973," *Journalism Quarterly*, 52 (Summer 1975), p. 297.

[14]Journalists used a variety of terms when discussing economic conditions and big business. These included "interests," "the system," "high or frenzied finance," "plutocracy," "industrial aristocracy," "the trusts," and "monopoly." David Chalmers, *The Social and Political Ideas of the Muckrakers* (New York, 1964), pp. 106-7. See also David Chalmers, *The Muckrake Years* (New York, 1974), and Filler, *Crusaders for American Liberalism*, for an overview of muckraking articles that focused on business and finance.

[15]Possibly the strongest denunciation of

corruption in goverment was David Graham Phillips' widely-read "The Treason of the Senate." This series appeared in nine parts in *Cosmopolitan* in 1906. The articles are reprinted in David Graham Phillips, *The Treason of the Senate* (Chicago, 1964). The series provided impetus for President Roosevelt to place the muckrake label on journalists of investigative exposure. Lincoln Steffens was another Progressive era muckraker who specialized in exposing corruption in government. Steffens reported, for example, on the state of affairs in many American cities. After his articles were published in *McClure's*, they were reprinted in *The Shame of the Cities* (New York, 1904). See, e.g., Regier, *The Era of the Muckrakers,* pp. 60-75, for an excellent review of Steffens' contributions to muckraking.

[16]Upton Sinclair's novel, *The Jungle* (New York, 1906), for example, emphasized the unsanitary handling of meat in packing houses. Samuel Hopkins Adams shook the patent medicine industry with his expose in *Collier's*, Oct. 7, 1905, edition. See Filler, *Crusaders for American Liberalism,* pp. 142-56 for details.

[17]See, e.g., John C. Behrens, *The Typewriter Guerrillas* (Chicago, 1977); Leonard Downie, Jr., *The New Muckrakers* (Washington, D.C., 1976); and James H. Dygert, *The Investigative Journalist, Folk Heroes of a New Era* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1976). See also Stein, "The Muckraking Book in America, 1946-1973," for an overview of ten contemporary muckraking books.

[18]Oliver Pilat, *Drew Pearson: An Unauthorized Biography* (New York, 1973), p. 22.

[19]"Querulous Quaker," *Time* 52 (Dec. 13, 1948), p. 70.

[20]"Drew Pearson," New York *Times* (Sept. 2, 1969), p. 46.

[21]"Drew Pearson: A Great Reporter Dies," Washington *Post* (Sept. 2, 1969), p. 13-D.

[22]"The Square Scourge of Washington," *Time* (April 3, 1972), p. 40.

[23]Harrison and Stein, "Muckraking: Present and Future," in Harrison and Stein, *Muckraking*, p. 156.

[24]See, e.g., Douglas A. Anderson and Dan Pingelton, "Examination of the Content of the 'Washington Merry-Go-Round,'" *Newspaper Research Journal* 3 (April 1982): 45-51. This article reports on the content of the "Washington Merry-Go-Round" column for calendar year 1980. Categories receiving the most attention were, in order: President Carter; Congress; general international; general federal government; Soviet activities; military-Pentagon; American intelligence; foreign relations; Justice Department; economy-business; Presidential election; big oil; State Department; and crime. Other columns dealt with labor, nuclear power, and environmental concerns.

[25]Douglas A. Anderson, "Drew Pearson: A Name Synonymous with Libel Actions," *Journalism Quarterly*, 56 (Summer 1979), p. 235. Pearson paid court-directed damages in only one suit brought against him during his lifetime. He paid $40,000 in *Littell v. Pearson*, Civil No. 49-2959 (D.D.C., May 15, 1953). His family, however, paid settlements in cases brought by New York Congressman Eugene Keogh and U.S. Senate hopeful Alphonse Roy of New Hampshire in order to expedite closing of the columnist's estate. The *Keogh* and *Roy* cases were pending when Pearson died. See also Douglas A. Anderson, *A "Washington Merry-Go-Round" of Libel Actions* (Chicago, 1980), for book-length treatment of the involvement in litigation by "Merry-Go-Round" columnists.

[26]81st Cong., 2d sess., 96 Cong. Rec. 16634, 16640 (1951) (remarks of Senator McCarthy).

[27]"Chronic Liar," *Time*, 42 (Sept. 13, 1943), p. 18.

[28]"Truman in Strong Language Assails Critics of His Aides," New York *Times*, (Feb. 23, 1949), p. 1.

[29]78th Cong., 2d sess., 90 Cong. Rec. 3683-84 (1944) (remarks of Senator McKellar).

[30]Charles Colson, *Born Again* (Lincoln, Va., 1976), p. 242.

[31]Anderson v. Nixon, 3 Med.L.Rptr. 2050 (D.D.C., April 4, 1978). Anderson's complaint was dismissed by the District Court for the District of Columbia. Defense attorneys contended that the columnist had knowledge of many key events in the alleged Administration conspiracy years before he filed the suit and therefore the statute of limitations had run. Federal District Court Judge Gerhard

Gesell said Anderson would have to reveal some confidential sources in order to show he was not aware of the alleged conspiracy at an early date. Anderson refused; as a result, his complaint was dismissed.

[32]It was not uncommon for magazine or newspaper articles written by Progressive era muckrakers to eventually be published in book form. See e.g., Will Irwin, *The American Newspaper: A Series First Appearing in Collier's, January-July 1911* (Ames, Iowa, 1969); David Graham Phillips, *The Treason of the Senate* (Chicago, 1964); Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (New York, 1904).

[33]Robert S. Allen and Drew Pearson, *Washington Merry-Go-Round* (New York, 1931), published by Liveright, Inc.; Robert S. Allen and Drew Pearson, *More Merry-Go-Round* (New York, 1932), published by Liveright, Inc.; Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, *The Nine Old Men* (Garden City, N.Y., 1936), published by Doubleday, Doran and Co.; Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, *Nine Old Men at the Crossroads* (Garden City, N.Y., 1937) published by Doubleday, Doran and Co.

[34]Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson, *The Case Against Congress* (New York, 1968), published by Simon and Schuster; Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson, *U.S.A.„Second-Class Power°* (New York, 1958) published by Simon and Schuster.

[35]Jack Anderson, *The Anderson Papers* (New York, 1973), published by Random House; Jack Anderson, *Washington Expose* (Washington, D. C., 1967), published by Public Affairs Press; Jack Anderson, with James Boyd, *Confessions of a Muckraker* (New York, 1979), published by Random House; Jack Anderson and Cark Kalvelage, *American Government...Like It Is* (Morristown, N. J., 1973), published by General Learning Press; Jack Anderson and Ronald May, *McCarthy: the Man, the Senator, the "Ism"* (Boston, 1952) publised by Beacon Press.

[36]See, e. g., Leonard Downie, Jr., *The New Muckrakers* (Washington, D. C., 1976).

[37]Herman Klurfeld, *Behind the Lines: the World of Drew Pearson* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1968), p. 4.

[38]Pilat, p. 119.

[39]*Ibid.*, p. 116.

[40]Allen and Pearson, *Washington Merry-Go-Round*, p. 53.

[41]Pilat, pp. 125-26.

[42]Allen and Pearson, *Washington Merry-Go-Round*, p. 217.

[43]*Ibid.*, p. 321.

[44]Allen and Pearson, *More Merry-Go-Round*, pp. 363-64.

[45]Phillips, *The Treason of the Senate.*

[46]Bob Woodward and Scott Armstrong, *The Brethren* (New York, 1979). *Newsweek* labeled the book "carefully unjudgmental" but said it marked "the heaviest assault yet on...two centuries of confidentiality at the Court, a silence heretofore broken only by a few piecemeal leaks and a few gentlemanly memoirs." "Inside the Burger Court," *Newsweek*, 94 (Dec. 10, 1979), pp. 76-77.

[47]Pearson and Allen, *Nine Old Men*, as quoted on un-numbered introductory page.

[48]*Ibid.*, p. 76.

[49]*Ibid.*, p. 139.

[50]*Ibid.*, p. 186. Allen and Pearson pointed out that between 1930 and 1936, Van Devanter wrote only twenty-two of the court's 963 opinions. The Justice wrote only five opinions in 1930, and one each in 1931 and 1932. After the authors criticized him in *More Merry-Go-Round* for his "paucity of expression," he wrote nine opinions in 1933. In 1934, he wrote three and, according to Pearson and Allen, "as if exhausted by the effort wrote nothing in 1935. Finally, with a terrific spurt, he produced three opinions in the latter months of the 1936 spring term." *Ibid.*, p. 187.

[51]*Ibid.*, pp. 75-76.

[52]*Ibid.*, p. 186.

[53]*Ibid.*, pp. 221-223.

[54]*Ibid.*, p. 222.

[55]See, e. g., Robert G. McCloskey, *The American Supreme Court* (Chicago, 1960), p. 169, for a discussion of the effects of the unsuccessful plan which would have allowed a

President to appoint a new Justice to supplement any Justice more than seventy years of age who chose not to retire. "The significant fact was that the plan would have permitted Roosevelt to appoint six new Supreme Court Justices, and thus to insure approval of the New Deal program," McCloskey wrote.

[56]300 U.S. 379 (1937). In this case, Chief Justice Hughes and Justice Roberts joined the liberal bloc to sustain a Washington minimum wage law.

[57]*Morehead v. New York ex. rel. Tipaldo*, 298 U.S 587 (1936).

[58]Charles Evans Hughes, speech to the Elmira, N.Y., Chamber of Commerce, May 3, 1907, as quoted in M. Frances McNamara, *2,000 Famous Legal Quotations* (New York, 1967).

[59]Pearson and Allen, *The Nine Old Men at the Crossroads*, p. 157.

[60]Klurfeld, p. 7.

[61]Stein and Harrison, "Muckraking Journalism in Twentieth-Century America," in Harrison and Stein, *Muckraking*.

[62]Pearson and Anderson, *U.S.A.,Second Class Power*, p. x.

[63]Robert C. Woodward, Book Review, *Library Journal*, 83 (Oct. 15, 1958), p. 2836.

[64]Richard L. Strout, "The Eisenhower Years," *New Republic*, 139 (Oct. 13, 1958), p. 20.

[65]Pearson and Anderson, *The Case Against Congress, p. 10.*

[66]*Ibid.*, pp. 27-97. The "Merry-Go-Round" column first called attention to Dodd, alleging that he had appropirated campaign contributions for personal use. Approximately 120 columns were devoted to the subject. In the end, the Senate voted to censure Dodd.

[67]*Ibid.*, p. 23.

[68]*Ibid.*, p. 24.

[69]Stein, p. 301.

[70]"The Square Scourge of Washington," *Time*, 99 (April 3, 1972), p. 44.

[71]Alfred Friendly, "In Slander's Field," *New Republic*, 127 (Nov. 3, 1952), pp. 20-21.

[72]Anderson and May, p. 187

[73]Anderson, *Confessions of a Muckraker*, p. 254.

[74]*Ibid.*, p. 254. See *Confessions of a Muckraker*, p. 255, for excerpts of some of the major reviews of the McCarthy book. The favorable reviews, according to Anderson, "hurried the book to the best-seller lists, and I think it is fair to say that it became the basic factual reference for the journalistic counteroffensive against McCarthyism, adding its mite to the slow-building public pressure on the Senate and the Executive to curb McCarthy." Anderson was particularly proud of the review published in the Washington *Post*. It read in part: "Two newsmen...have done a devastating piece of work....They have taken most of the major McCarthy lies – lies in fact and lies in implications – and have given the painstaking, space-consuming, point by point explanation of what was the truth in the matter."

[75]Frederick L. Holborn, "All the News That's Safe to Print," *Saturday Review*, 50 (March 4, 1967), pp. 31-32.

[76]Anderson and Kalvelage, pp. 1-2.

[77]*Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

[78]*Ibid.*, p. 14.

[79]*Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

[80]*Ibid.*, p. 70.

[81]Ironically, though Pearson had more than his share of strong news columns, he never was awarded a Pulitzer Prize.

[82]See Anderson, *The Anderson Papers*, pp. 135-62, for an inside view of the events that led to Anderson's reporting of alleged drunken driving tickets being issued to then Democratic Vice Presidential candidate Senator Thomas Eagleton of Missouri.

[83]*Ibid.*, p. 8.

[84]*Ibid.*, p. 5.

[85]Anderson, *Confessions of a Muckraker*, pp. 292-93.

[86]Allen and Pearson, *Washington Merry-Go-Round*, p. 11. Allen and Pearson termed Mrs. Joseph (Juliette) Leiter, Mrs. James F. (Laura) Curtis, Eleanor Medill Patterson, and Alice Roosevelt Longworth as the "most fawned upon among Washington's social whip-crackers."

[87]Pearson and Allen, *The Nine Old Men*, on un-numbered introductory page.

[88]Allen and Pearson, *Washington Merry-Go-Round*, pp. 365-366.

[89]Anderson, *The Anderson Papers*, pp. 6-7.

A Newspaper Analysis of the John Brown Raid

By Lloyd Chiasson

Perhaps the most emotional issue in the United States prior to the Civil War was slavery. For various economic and social reasons, the South staunchly defended the institution whenever and wherever necessary. Many people in the North, generally rooting their position on moral grounds, largely opposed the institution.

This research examined two newspapers, one from the South and one from the North, to decipher what each newspaper printed about this highly charged issue. To narrow the scope, two specific and connected events in the fall of 1859 which may have represented the emotional apex of the slavery issue prior to the Civil War, were examined. These were the raid on Harper's Ferry, Virginia, and the period leading to and just following the execution of the leader of that raid, John Brown.

Although this research did not concern itself with the impact of the John Brown episode on the Civil War, nor did it presume to measure the public interest generated by the controversial subject being examined, a study by D. W. Harding concludes that in periods of crisis there is reason to believe that "people turn more to their newspaper...for guidance than they normally do."[1]

This study, then, did not endeavor to focus on public opinion but rather on how newspapers, through their news and views, perform in a highly charged period. If the public does turn more to newspapers for guidance in periods of crisis, it it of vital importance to ascertain what that guidance is. In addition, it is just as important to learn what editorial support, if any, was provided by newspapers in this, or any other, period of American history.

One study which concluded that newspapers play an impressive role in developing public opinion, also discovered that in times of crisis newspapers may not always present a clear picture of actual events. H. C. Peterson suggests in *Propaganda For War* that during World War I American newsmen were not able to calmly assess the events which happened at such a fast rate of speed and this resulted in a distorted presentation of the news.[2]

LLOYD CHIASSON (Ph. D., Southern Illinois University) is assistant professor of journalism at Loyola University of the South.

In addition, the John Brown raid and the trial were engulfed in racial issues which may have surfaced in the news pages of the newspapers studied. Sociologist Nic Rhoodie writes that by the nature of the news media in an industrialized society, the news judgment of reporters, editors, and news managers directly or indirectly affect the racial relationship of a nation. "Thus, in becoming arbiter of racial controversy, the editor has become a participant and actively takes a role in shaping news beside reporting it."[3] (While the South in 1859 still remained largely an agricultural region, the North had experienced vast industrial growth and an immense urban movement stimulated by the industrial development.)

If either of the newspapers did shape the news of the John Brown raid and trial, it should be remembered that the entire episode was based primarily on racial attitudes. Perhaps more importantly, if the editors were arbiters of racial controversy, did they present the news objectively? If not, was it presented in stereotypical terms? Gordon Allport writes that stereotypes may or may not originate from the truth but in any case they help people simplify their categories and "they justify hostility." He adds, however, that an important reason for the existence of stereotypes is that they are socially supported, continuously revived and hammered in by the media, often in the form of news articles.[4]

In addition, David Manning White's gatekeeper study concludes that "it begins to appear...that in his position as 'gatekeeper' that the community shall hear as a fact only those events which the newsmen as the representative of his culture, believes to be true."[5] Both regions of the country were informed of the raid at Harper's Ferry and subsequent events. Did readers in either region, however, get a clear, untainted picture of the entire series of events? Or did some, those in New York and New Orleans specifically, receive a picture of events as their local newspapers perceived, then shaped them to be?

It is hoped that this study can at least partially discover the answer to that question by addressing the points already outlined.

The two newspapers chosen, the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*[6] and the New York *Tribune*,[7] were studied and evaluated on coverage of the raid and following events from October 18 (two days after the capture of Brown) to December 10 (eight days after Brown's execution).

Each newspaper was selected because of its large circulation and because both were geographically removed from Virginia where the raid took place and where emotion in both the populace and the local journals may have run exceptionally high.

Four methods of qualitative evaluation were used.[8]

1. Each newspaper was evaluated for the type and quantity of news presented; this is, whether the newspaper used dispatches, correspondents or a combination of each.

2. Each newspaper's editorial comments on the Brown episode were evaluated in two ways: content and quality. (Columns and commentaries were placed into this category.)

3. Story placement was also considered in determining the importance placed upon news articles or commentary.

4. Any added significance headlines may have contributed to the overall news presentation was also considered.

To better understand the newspapers' reaction to the events in the fall and winter of 1859, a short history about John Brown should prove useful. Brown's abolitionist activities first came to the public's attention in 1855. Following passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854, which paved the way for the residents of a territory to decide whether or not the territory would legalize slavery, free soilers (those persons who opposed slavery in the new territories) and pro-slavery settlers sought to inhabit and claim the new territories for themselves.[10] National attention focused on Kansas and Nebraska as the newest laboratories testing the volatile question of slavery.[11]

Into this setting came John Brown's five sons from New York. It was only a short time before they sent for their father to bring arms to aid in the free soil cause. Brown left the East and went to Kansas to become leader of a small band of avid free soilers.[12] In May, 1855, he led a small force to Osawatomie, Kansas, where he ordered the execution of five pro-slavery settlers.[13] After this, he was known to the public as Old Osawatomie Brown.

In 1857, Brown began to recruit men for a mission leading to what he envisioned as an insurrection of the slaves and the establishment of a stronghold – probably in Virginia – where fugitive slaves and white friends could terrorize slaveholders and at the same time establish a free state within the South.[14]

In 1858, President James Buchanan labeled Brown an outlaw and a reward for his capture had been offered.[15] The fugitive remained free, however, moving across the North and into Canada for safety. In the summer of 1859, Brown returned and rented a farm – Kennedy Farm – about five miles from Harper's Ferry where he could organize men and gather arms for the rebellion he envisioned. On October 16, 1859, Brown and twenty-one men took control of Harper's Ferry and the federal arsenal located there. By the next morning, Brown had control of the U. S. armory and the bridges leading to the town besides holding several residents hostage. He also had killed several residents in taking control of the small town. Brown's disorganized plan completely collapsed when no slave rebellion developed.

By noon of the second day, the state militia arrived and shooting between the two forces resulted. The end neared, however, when during the night a company of United States Marines under the direction of the man who would later lead the southern army in the Civil War, Robert E. Lee, arrived.

When Brown refused to surrender at dawn, Lee ordered the siege of the arsenal and captured Brown and four cohorts. In all, twelve of Brown's twenty-two men survived the battle. Brown was wounded, although not seriously.

Brown was taken to Charlestown, Virginia, and indicted a week later on charges of treason to Virginia and of conspiring with slaves to commit treason and murder.[16] After being convicted by the state of Virginia of both charges, Brown was hanged on December 2, 1859.

From the raid to execution, and during the period following the execution, Brown was a figure discussed in both the North and the South. The raid rekindled the already smoldering emotions concerning slavery in both southern and northern journals. Depending on the newspaper, Brown was reported as a martyr, a murderous maniac, or someone displaying qualities of each.[17]

From capture to execution, Brown was consistent in his reasoning for the affair: he wanted to right a societal wrong by freeing the slaves and he saw himself an instrument of Providence, a man guided by God.[18]

Whether John Brown was guided by ego or Providence, insanity or abolitionist propaganda, remains conjecture.[19] What is a certainty, however, is that Brown was a topic of concern in newspapers in both the North and the South.[20]

Clearly, the period was a highly charged one. In both the North and South the slavery issue had been a topic of concern for decades. As far back as 1831 with the Nat Turner uprising, the South "never again was ... free from the fear ... of a slave uprising, a fact potent in the history of the republic during the next thirty years."[21] Indeed, fear of another rebellion, one organized in the North, seems to have occupied southern minds to some extent.[22] Fear could be found not only in the southern attitudes about the abolitionist section of the population in the North, but in concern over the possibility of violent attitudes among the slaves. Simply put, the South was frightened of its own creation, and John Brown's raid probably heightened that fear.

As early as 1832, the Charlestown (South Carolina) *Mercury* advocated secession,[23] largely over concern of violent northern intervention. The Turner rebellion, for instance, was widely considered by southerners to be a northern plot.[24]

Abolitionist newspapers in the North continued to attack slavery during the next thirty years, and indirectly the fears of the South. At that same time, other newspapers in the North represented decreasingly strong anti-slavery stands, depending on the publisher's personal position, the political situation of the time, or the overall emotional climate existing at the moment.[25] In New York City, for example, James Gordon Bennett's *Herald* and Horace Greeley's *Tribune* actively disagreed, the *Herald* often representing the Democratic Party on states' right.[26] That southern stance was simple enough: slavery was a southern issue, one that should be handled by the southern states which developed the institution.

Adding still more tension had been the recent guerilla-type war in Kansas over the territory's future status as a free or slave state.[26]

When analyzing the raid and following events relating to Harper's Ferry, other factors need to be considered. Without a competent Southern press to distribute the news across the region, the South might have conceivably reacted in a totally different manner. According to the 1860 census, the eleven future Confederate states had 703 political journals. Although many readers imported northern newspapers, the southerners preferred southern commentary.[27]

By 1860, four basic types of southern newspapers existed, two of which strongly supported southern rights, feared Abraham Lincoln and the Republican Party, and editorialized that a Republican victory in the 1860 presidential election warranted secession. The third type of newspaper strongly supported states' rights and expressed conservatism on the secession issue, while the fourth disagreed with secession.[28]

The northern journals fell into broad categories also. Besides the abolitionist journals, there were the Black Republican journals – and the

Democratic states'-rights press.[29] Although these broad categories do not represent every type of newspaper in each region, the papers categorized were probably the most active in covering the raid and subsequent events.

In both regions, however, the type of news the journals printed often included information concerning the possibility of co-conspirators who helped finance Brown's raid. The names are prominent, and exclusively northern: Horace Greeley, Congressman Garritt Smith of Ohio, and Senator William Seward of New York, the leading candidate for the Republican presidential nomination.[30] The naming of such well known – and in some cases feared – persons, certainly caused southern anxiety over a possible conspiracy of large proportions in the North.[31]

If Brown had been killed at the raid, there probably never would have been anything approaching the immense newspaper coverage which followed. With Brown dead there would have been no trial to publicize and to elongate the coverage, nor much time for newspapers so inclined to garner public opinion for what they believed to be either his crime or heroism.[32] Brown seemed to be strongly aware of this fact. While waiting for execution in Charlestown he observed that "I do not know that I ought to encourage any attempt to save my life. I am not sure that it would not be better for me to die at this time."[33] The poet and strong anti-slavery critic, Henry Ward Beecher, may have spoken the feelings of many when he said: "Let no man pray for that Brown be spared. Let Virginia make him a martyr." When this quote appeared in the New York *Herald* of October 31, Brown wrote the word "good" next to the story.[34]

Indeed, an argument can be made that Brown never expected a successful rebellion – there were few slaves in that part of Virginia to provide an uprising[35] – but that he consciously was aware that an attack against the federal government at Harper's Ferry, where munitions and arms were stored, would get national attention, would let slaves know that support of their freedom could be had, and would create concern in the South.[36]

Even the trial seems to have heightened public awareness. The short period – one week – between the raid and the trial created unfavorable public opinion in the North.[37] That Brown was still injured at the time of the trial also intensified feelings that Virginia authorities were guilty of unfair treatment,[38] as well as the fact that two Virginia lawyers defended Brown.[39]

Perhaps the one reported element which caused the greatest outrage in the North was the news that Brown might be insane, and sentencing would not display consideration of that possibility.[40] In short, numerous elements existed prior to and after the raid which probably created greater coverage of the episode than might have developed otherwise.

The New Orleans *Daily Picayune* first reported the raid October 18 in a dispatch from Baltimore.[41] Even though most of the early dispatches originated there, others eventually came from Harper's Ferry or Charlestown as did both the New York papers researched. Also unique to the southern journal in this study is the fact that all news stories were wire service dispatches.

Stories about Brown were daily items in the newspaper. In only ten issues were stories on the raid or its aftermath omitted from the newspaper.

Early reports in the paper were sketchy, the purpose of the raid and the

number of participants differing in the reports of the 18th and 19th.[42] First wire service reports gave a figure of insurgents totaling 600 to 900 with an unknown number of blacks involved. (The term *negro* was used by the wire services.) The reason for this may have been because Brown controlled the town for about one day. In any case, the report of October 19 placed the number of black participants at 600 and explained that the movement originated with a secret abolitionist group, its object being to free the blacks of Maryland and Virginia and to incite rebellion in the adjoining states. It was also reported that John Brown and his sons were killed and that letters from prominent abolitionists – like Garritt Smith and editor Frederick Douglass – had been found at Brown's farm.[43]

On October 20, the *Daily Picayune* reported that Brown was alive and that a search of Kennedy Farm revealed "an immense number of letters from all parts of the North."[44]

In an October 22 editorial, the paper wrote that support of the raid by leading abolitionists proved them a "class whose humanity would prompt the desolation of our states by fire and sword, the kindling of civil war, and even the disruption of this confederacy, to accomplish their irrational ideas of philanthropy." Calling the entire plan insane, the editorial continued, "We cannot but hope...that its lesson will be salutory upon the exposition of the humanity and love of those who lead a crusade of sectionalism."[45]

Another editorial advised slaveholders against giving monthly passes to Negroes, since the passes essentially set those slaves free. The editorial reminded readers that state policy was to reduce the number of free blacks in Louisiana.[46]

Still another editorial comment appeared in the afternoon edition that day which asked:

> "Are the thinking men of the North ready for civil war – a war of vengence, embittered by the hottest fanaticism? Will they recognize the desperado, Osawatomie Brown, as a martyr in a good cause, deserving the respect of mankind? Unless we much mistake the people of the North, this futile attempt at treason...will produce among them a thrill of horror and will enable them to see a moral deformity of the psuedo philanthropy of the Abolition school."

The commentary continued with a note explaining that the slaves would support the South in any insurrection, but that "...care and careless guardianship should be exercised over our servants which are devoted to our more immediate households."[47]

On October 24, the *Daily Picayune* provided another editorial, this one explaining how the soldiers at Harper's Ferry wanted to lynch Brown. In the paper's view, he should be hanged.[48]

An editorial on October 25 suggested that the anti – slavery party of the North was much too smart to have ties with any such insurrection. Appearing to be writing for northern as much as for southern readers, the paper added that it had confidence that northerners would understand the horror of the

act and that the South certainly had no fear of such types as Brown. Apparently concerned with public opinion, the newspaper called upon both the pro and anti – slavery press to help all people learn from "the idiocy" of the raid.[49]

The edition of October 28 reported Brown's trial had begun in Charlestown, and that a captured mulatto had confessed an insurrection in Kentucky had been planned.[50] Prominent northerners, such as the governor of Ohio and Senator William Seward, were reported to have been linked to the insurrection.[51]

The October 30 issue contained an editorial criticizing northern newspapers for suggesting slavery was ripe for overthrow, adding that the lesson of Harper's Ferry was that the raid was not an insurrection but "an invasion of Virginia by a gang of abolitionists...." It pointed out that the South was strong enough to prevent any intervention – just what type of intervention was vague – and that the slaves were loyal to the South. However, the previous calls for northern understanding of the southern position may have contained subtle uncertainty when the paper wrote: "The response thus far...is encouraging to the hope that the great body of the Northern people are awaking to the peril of the position into which they have been unwittingly drawn, by unprincipled and selfish men."[52]

On November 3, the paper expressed confidence that the raid had strengthened the South and then weighed the pros and cons of extradition of Garritt Smith from New York. This issue was again addressed the following day with the paper writing that New York should have the "courtesy" to extradite Smith.[53]

Concern over the northern position could again be found in an editorial November 8 which called on the North to understand the southern position and to stop hooligans who were making trouble in the South. It asked northerners to avoid turning Brown into a martyr, especially since he had been found guilty of both murder and treason. In conclusion, the editorial saluted the "conservatism" that had been aroused in the North. To the *Daily Picayune*, that reference to conservatism obviously meant an understanding of states' rights.[54]

On November 9, a full column on the front page criticized "propagandist" journals in the North and South for printing abolitionist ideas. A week later another editorial argued against the free states' cries of mercy for Brown, and additionally tried to counteract what it apparently viewed as the possible martyrdom of Brown by many people, and journals, in the North. "If Brown is executed, we are warned that a great sympathy will grow up North; that he will be made a hero and martyr. His name will be the watchword with which to kindle a fire of indignation and hatred against the south...the blood of John Brown will be the cement of the Republican Church...." The editorial then added: "Perhaps this may be true in part, although we believe it greatly exaggerated."[55]

The *Daily Picayune* of November 17 continued its condemnation of those who knew of Brown's plot but refused to act to stop it. It specifically named Senator Seward.[56]

Two days later the paper reported rumors of a rescue attempt for Brown.[57] November 22 another story suggesting a possible rescue attempt was prin-

ted.[58] The next day the paper reported all was quiet in Charlestown but that Governor Henry Wise had placed 1,000 troops in the city with offers of more men from the South Carolina governor.[59] The following day's edition reported the offer of Pennsylvania and Virginia to prevent "the entrance into Virginia from the Northern states, of any abolitionists or bodies of men that come with the intent of rescuing Brown or his associate prisoners."[60] A second item also appeared reporting a possible abolitionist plot to help slaves on the Virginia coast escape their masters.[61]

Two days later the offer by the Pennsylvania governor was printed again.[62] On November 30, another editorial called on Governor Wise to be prepared for any rescue attempt. Perhaps more importantly, there was an indication in this article that the newspaper had begun to feel less certain of the general northern position on Brown and the raid. The editorial pointed out that because of the precautions taken against any rescue attempt, the abolitionists would now deny that a rescue effort had been planned and that the abolitionist press would claim Virginia and the governor were afraid of non-existent enemies. "The prevalence of this taunting...is one of the worst signs yet of a debauched state of Northern mind in regard to the South....To make a mockery of fear – if there were fear – is no trait of brotherhood....The Philistines of old made sport of Sampson ..." The writer suggested that the North should remember the conclusion of that Biblical tale.[63]

A commentary December 2 criticized those northerners who would make Brown a martyr, yet ended with the hopeful words: "We will not say that it is the ruling sentiment of the Northern people ...."[64]

The three-paragraph report of the execution of Brown came one day after the event, punctuated with the words: "Brown died easy."[65]

Front page editorials December 4,6,7 and 10 all expressed doubt for the earlier hope of general northern understanding of states' rights and peaceful coexistence. First the paper criticized Horace Greeley and others for supporting abolitionist propaganda, and called for the election of a Democrat in the next presidential election. Two days later each of the southern governors were quoted on the prospect of friendship and understanding between the North and South. Emphasis was placed on the Alabama governor's feelings about the poor chances of preserving the union in the light of Harper's Ferry and the growth of the Black Republicanism.

Perhaps the strongest editorial concerning the future of relations appeared December 7 when the paper wrote that without cooperation between the two regions: "What will follow....is a question we prefer not to discuss, till the time arrives when we can see our way to the result, and are constrained to make our election what is to be done after."[66]

What the *Daily Picayune* viewed as a possible solution to the southern problem can be found in the December 10 issue, the final edition considered in this study. That day a front page editorial suggested the South begin to develop economic independence.

Summerizing, the *Daily Picayune's* wire reports were short, factual and without opinion. Editorially the journal preached understanding of southern feelings concerning slavery, and did so often.

The news coverage and commentary in the New York *Tribune* differed from the *Daily Picayune* in several ways. First, most of the editorials were on

page four and the news on page five. This did not represent low news priority. Rather the *Tribune's* first three pages were used for local announcements and advertising. Page four was the first news page.

Secondly, the *Tribune* sent a correspondent to Charlestown, his first correspondence appearing November 4 under the heading, "John Brown's Invasion." It had no heading defining it as news, column, or editorial opinion, and its prime purpose appears to have been to discredit Virginians associated with the prosecution of Brown, and those southerners who were not.[67]

Finally, in the span of one month, the *Tribune* ran twenty-six columns and fifteen editorials dealing with Brown. In amount of news space and in numbers alone, this dwarfed the coverage given by the other journal studied.

Like the *Daily Picayune,* however, the *Tribune* first reported the raid October 18 in a story that is consistent with the rest of the *Tribune's* treatment of the news: top placement of all the wire stories with an eye-catching seven-deck head. As did the *Daily Picayune,* the *Tribune* reported an incorrect number of insurgents.[68] The following day the twelve dispatches about the raid virtually took all the space on page four. The coverage appeared balanced, even to the point of mentioning that northern co-conspirators were probably involved.[69]

However, October 20 brought the first of many editorials, this one an attack on the Democrats and denial of Republican connection with "Old Brown's mad outbreak."[70]

In the same issue the *Tribune* retold the story of capture and described how the Harper's Ferry citizens had to be restrained from lynching Brown. "When the prisoners came out there were vociferous cries of 'Hang 'em' constantly repeated."[71] What was omitted, however, was Governor Wise's answer to the cries: "Oh, it would be cowardly to do so now."[72] Later, the *Tribune* would use much space criticizing the governor for many of his actions in the John Brown affair.

The next day an editorial entitled "Who Is Responsible?" proclaimed the answer was those who encouraged the pro-slavery war in Kansas. "John Brown, then a peaceful and quiet citizen, went to Kansas with no intention to do anything against slavery..." except by peaceful means.[73]

October 24 brought another political defense from the *Tribune,* this one an editorial attacking the New York *Herald* for what the *Tribune* saw as an attempt to make Republicans guilty and responsible for Kansas and Harper's Ferry so that a Democrat would be elected in 1860.[74]

The following day an editorial appeared explaining that the trial would be a speedy one because "the prisoners have no defense."[75] A second editorial attacked the Democrats for thinking of Harper's Ferry as a windfall for the party.[76]

Another commentary in the following edition attacked slavery and told its readers that there was nothing for the South to be concerned about.[77]

The newspaper of October 28 provided a reversal of earlier sentiments when it attacked the Virginia courts for speeding up the trial: "In what marvelous hurry they are in Charlestown Court!" In this strongest attack thus far, the *Tribune* wrote point blank that the South wanted revenge even if a delay were to show Brown was insane.[78] A similar attack was published

October 31.[79] Either the *Tribune* did not know or simply chose not to report that a Virginia statute clearly demanded an immediate trial.[80]

The next edition brought a renewal of the attack on the Democratic Party, plus a long, dramatic piece on the conviction of Brown.[81] The following day two editorials dealt with the same subject. First, the *Tribune* asked that Republicans' names – apparently Giddings, Seward and Greeley – be left out of the entire episode.[82] A second editorial praised the New Orleans *Daily Picayune* for not playing up the news of the letters Brown had received from prominent Republicans, quoting the paper that rational men wouldn't be connected with that conspiracy.[83]

The editorials continued November 3:

> "Let the Democratic Party succeed, by hook or by crook, in carrying the next Presidential election, and we shall see immediately afterward the revival of the African slave – trade brought forward as the policy of the party."[84]

The next day another editorial attacked the Democrats.[85] This issue also marked the first appearance of the *Tribune* correspondent – no byline was ever used – in Charlestown. His column typically ran much longer than the wire stories or the editorials.[86] This column may also have been the *Tribune's* strongest weapon in trying to develop public opinion against Virginia, the South, the trial and its results, and the Democratic Party. Until December 5, when Brown's body reached New York, the correspondent was a daily fixture, writing assorted items such as:

– An attack on local Charlestown papers was being bias.[87]

– Apparent pro Brown comments and quotes. For example: "Brown's cheerfulness never fails him."[88]

– Several attacks on the court trying Brown.[89] For example: "Jurors are qualified who do not understand the nature of the duties they assume."[90]

– A comparison of the North and South. For example: "Everything shows how far this region is behind the age, lingering sluggishly in the lap of idleness."[91]

– Attacks on the southern populace. Foe example: "They want a full five-act tragedy.... It is a pretty scheme – a scheme worthy of Virginia, I think."[92]

– An attack on the prosecutors, Andrew Hunter, whom he termed a dictator and a person who was prejudiced, and Charles Harding, who "carries the worst marks of intemperance. His face is a vindictive as well as a degraded one."[93] Also: "He has a way of expressing profound contempt by ejecting saliva aloft, and catching it on his chin, which he practices with great success."[94]

– Several attacks on Governor Wise.[95]

– An attack on Colonel Lusius Davis, the commander of the military in Charlestown. For example: "He is the incarnation of pompous dignity."[96]

– That Brown was pleased with the problems he had caused for Virginia and the South because "He has seen the frightened fury which has spread..."[97]

– Attacks on the southern accent.[98]

– Quotations, without name identification, of what southerners offhandedly told him. For example: "I would die content if I could see Greeley,

Frederick Douglass, Emerson Garson and Beecher strung up alongside old Brown on next Friday." Also: "Sire, I would be glad to see the whole North sunk to the deepest depth of the bottomless pit!"[99]

The *Tribune's* editorial page was more narrow in the range of its views. On November 5, another editorial was written about concern in the North over the spread of slavery erritories.[100] A similar editorial arguing against that growth followed two days later.[101]

Not only editorials displayed Brown in a more favorable light than the other journals considered in this study. On November 8, a letter was printed from a Maria Child of Wayland, Massachusetts. In part it read: "... I think of you night and day, bleeding in prison, surrounded by hostile faces, sustained only by trust in God and your own strong heart."[102] This was consistent with the *Tribune* correspondent, who often wrote of Brown's courage and consideration of others. More stories about Mrs. Child were published as the execution drew near.[103]

In the November 18 and 19 editions, articles related a possible plot by insurgents in Memphis, Tennessee, as well as a possible rescue attempt on Brown in Charlestown.[104] Also in the November 19 issue was an editorial about how Virginia needed to relax and not be so terror-stricken concerning the raid.[105] On the following page, a story appeared about a fire four miles outside Harper's Ferry. Two days later the correspondent "supposed" that the fire was set by slaves.[106] Until the second week of December, the stories and editorials dealt principally with over-reaction by the Virginia populace, while the news stories appeared under headlines that seemed to promote the very problems the editorials argued against. For example, in the November 22 edition, the following headlines appeared within just one news story:

– The Virginia Panic; Troops Under Arms; Another Arrest; Suspicious Signs; Effect of Slavery on White Men; Destroying Presses; Niger!Niger!(sic); The Irrepressible Conflict.[107]

This headline approach was consistent throughout the months of November and early December.

As Brown's execution approached, editorials appeared November 25, 27 and December 2 which portrayed Brown as a sick man who should be given a new trial.[108] How much the newspaper wanted to get favorable public opinion for its views about a stay of execution is impossible to say.

In summary, there seems no doubt that the newspapers studied tried to provide guidance in a period each perceived as critical for the country. It also appeared that one, the *Tribune,* propagandized in news reports in an attempt to mold public opinion.

According to D.G. Boyce, many of the newspapers of the period may have done just that with John Brown "since news and views are an essential part of the growth on public opinion," and better understanding "can begin with an examination of the means of communication."[109]

The newspapers studied varied noticeably in presentation and quantity of news. The *Daily Picayune* printed 18 editorials and 34 news stories about John Brown and surrounding events during the period studied. Except for 14 news stories and one editorial, the articles were all displayed on the front page. Most of the news stories were short – usually two to four columns in length – and all were telegraphed dispatches. This means the *Daily Picayune* could be

subjective only in story selection, and whether this was the case is not known.

The *Tribune* was much more active. It reported or editorialized on Brown every day of the period studied. A total of 34 commentaries and 28 editorials were printed. Telegraphed news stories appeared each day. In no way did the news columns, which appeared every day for over a month, appear to be anything but anti-South propaganda. The wire reports, however, were balanced and apparently objective news presentations. But the *Tribune* headlines used for these dispatches did not appear to be objective in any way. They were multi-decked headlines suggesting violence and fear in the South. Indeed, this appears the basic philosophy of the newspaper in covering the entire John Brown affair. The *Tribune* wrote that the South was needlessly fearful and that southern newspapers were reporting the entire incidence out of proportion.

The *Daily Picayune* viewed Brown as a villain who recklessly had committed murder and treason. The *Tribune* did not agree. It first wrote that Brown was a sick man involved in a ridiculous plot, then a strong moral man who devised a sick plot, and finally a man who was a martyr representing a force against the southern evil of slavery. In presenting this view, the *Tribune* spared little news space. Its correspondent in Charlestown had more printed about Brown than the total coverage in the *Daily Picayune*. In all, the correspondent's daily column averaged more than 2.5 columns in length. (The *Tribune* had a six-column format at the time.)

The end result of the coverage of these two newspapers was that the events surrounding John Brown may not have been as important as the possibilities offered to the newspapers to sway public opinion toward their views in a period of great anxiety and crisis.

The southern newspaper editorially tried to calm the fears of a region apparently frightened of those persons in the North who might try to reduce southern rights through violence. If the *Daily Picayune* was indicative of the general attitude of the South, it appears to have been a threatened, insecure region, concerned as much with public opinion in the North as it was with creating any in the South.

The New York *Tribune's* opinions were squarely opposite those held by the southern newspaper, and the *Tribune's* intentions in reporting the John Brown episode appear clear. It wanted to lead public opinion, not to follow it. In attempting to do so, the newspaper in large part relinquished its role as informer for one as anti-slavery propagandist.

It should be pointed out that the relatively quiet approach taken by the southern newspaper as compared to the *Tribune* may have resulted from the fact that it was the South which was being threatened. If the *Daily Picayune* editors felt the South was being challenged by outside forces which it could not control, reserved commentary may have been the result.

NOTES

[1]D. W. Harding, "General Conceptions in the Study of the Press and Public Opinion," *Sociological Review*29 (October 1937), p. 390.

[2]H. C. Peterson,*Propaganda for War* (Port Washington, N.Y.,1939), p. 159.

[3]N. C. Rhoodie, *Intergroup Accomodation in Plural Societies* (London, 1978), pp.236-237.

[4]Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (London, 1954), p. 6.

[5]David Manning White, "The Gatekeeper: A Case Study in the Selection of News," *Journalism Quarterly* 27 (Fall 1950), p. 389.

[6]In their history *The Press and America*, Edwin and Michael Emery write that the *Daily Picayune* was founded in 1837 and was the leading morning newspaper in New Orleans throughout the period studied. Circulation figures were not available.

[7]In *The Press and America*, the authors also note that Horace Greeley often editorialized on subjects ranging from Socialism to agrarian reform to abolitionism. Under Greeley's leadership, the *Tribune* became one of the most widely known newspapers in the country. Emery notes that the circulation was somewhat less than the New York *Sun* or New York *Herald*. That would indicate that the daily *Tribune's* circulation was probably near 50,000.

[8]See Birthney Ardoin, "A Content Analysis of Mississippi Daily Newspaper Coverage of the Waller-Evers Political Campaign," *Southern Quarterly* 11 (April 1973): 207-220; Guido Stempel III, "The Prestige Press in Two Presidential Elections," *Journalism Quarterly* 38 (Winter 1965): 15-21; Robert G. Meadow, "Cross Media Comparison of Coverage of the 1972 Presidential Campaign," *Journalism Quarterly* 50 (Autumn 1973): 482-488; David S. Meyers, "Editorials and Foreign Affairs in the 1968 Presidential Campaign," *Journalism Quarterly* 47 (Spring 1970): 57-64; Doris Graber, "Press Coverage Patterns of Campaign News: The 1968 Presidential Race," *Journalism Quarterly* 48 (Autumn 1971): 502-512.

[9]*Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1929), Vol.III, p. 132.

[10]Robert Penn Warren, *John Brown, The Making of a Martyr* (New York, 1929), p.135.

[11]*Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. III, p. 132.

[12]*Ibid.*

[13]Warren,*John Brown*, p. 335.

[14]*Dictionary of American Biography* Vol. III, p. 133.

[15]*Ibid.*, p.134.

[16]*Ibid.*

[17]Franklin Sanborn, *The Life and Letters of John Brown* (Boston, 1891), p. 565.

[18]Oswald Garrison Villard, *John Brown: A Biography Fifty Years After* (Gloucester, Mass., 1965), p.140.

[19]*Ibid.*, pp. 471-490.

[20]*Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XIX, p. 70.

[21]Eric Foner, *Nat Turner* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1971), pp. 56-62.

[22]Emery and Emery,*The Press and America*, p.155.

[23]Foner, p.56.

[24]Villard, p. 476.

[25]*Ibid.*, p.472.

[26]Warren, p. 89.

[27]Donald Reynolds, *Editors Make War* (Nashville, 1970), p. 5.

[28]*Ibid.*, p.24.

[29]Villard, pp.471-476, 480-481.

[30]Steven Channing, *Crisis of Fear* (New York, 1970), p. 129.

[31]Gerald Johnson, *The Secession of the Southern States* (New York, 1933), p. 129.

[32]Villard, p. 471.

[33]*Ibid.*, p. 518.

[34]*Ibid.*, pp. 518-519.

[35]Warren, p. 331.

[36]*Ibid.*, p.328.

[37]Villard, p. 479.

[38]*Ibid.*, p. 481.

[39]*Ibid.*, p. 483.

[40]*Tribune*, 25 Nov. 1859, p. 4.

[41]*Daily Picayune*, 18 Oct. 1859, p. 1; 19 Oct. 1859, p. 1.

[42]*Ibid.*

[43]*Daily Picayune*, 19 Oct. 1859, p. 1.

[44]*Daily Picayune*, 20 Oct. 1859, p. 1.

[45]*Daily Picayune*, 22 Oct. 1859, p. 1.

[46]*Ibid.*

[47]*Ibid.*, p. 2.

[48]*Daily Picayune*, 24 Oct. 1859, p.4.

[49]*Daily Picayune*, 25 Oct. 1859, p. 1.

[50]*Daily Picayune*, 28 Oct. 1859, p. 1.

[51]*Daily Picayune*, 28 Oct. 1859, p. 1; 29 Oct.1859, p. 1.

[52]*Daily Picayune*, 30 Oct. 1859,p. 1.

[53]*Daily Picayune*, 4 Nov. 1859, p. 1.

[54]*Daily Picayune*, 8 Nov. 1859, p. 1.

[55]*Daily Picayune*, 9 Nov. 1859, p. 1.

[56]*Daily Picayune*, 17 Nov. 1859, p.1.

[57]*Daily Picayune*, 19 Nov. 1859, p. 1.

[58]*Daily Picayune*, 22 Nov. 1859, p. 1.

[59]*Daily Picayune*, 23 Nov. 1859, p. 1.

[60]*Daily Picayune*, 24 Nov. 1859, p. 1.

[61]*Ibid.*

[62]*Daily Picayune*, 26 Nov. 1859, p. 1.

[63]*Daily Picayune*, 30 Nov. 1859, p. 1.

[64]*Daily Picayune*, 2 Dec. 1859, p. 1.

[65]*Daily Picayune*, 3 Dec. 1859, p. 1.

[66]*Daily Picayune*, 7 Dec. 1859, p. 1.

[67]*Tribune*, 4 Nov. 1859, 5 Nov. 1859, 7 Nov. 1859, 8 Nov. 1859, 9 Nov. 1859, 10 Nov. 1859, 15 Nov. 1859, 16 Nov. 1859, 17 Nov.1859, 19 Nov. 1859, 21 Nov. 1859, 25 Nov. 1859, 27 Nov. 1859, 1 Dec. 1859, 2 Dec.1859, 4 Dec. 1859, 6 Dec. 1859.

[68]*Tribune*, 18 Oct. 1859, p. 5.

[69]*Tribune*, 19 Oct. 1859, p. 4.

[70]*Tribune*, 20 Oct. 1859, p. 4.

[71]*Ibid.*, p. 6.

[72]Warren, *John Brown*, p. 392.

[73]*Tribune*, 21 Oct. 1859, p.4.

[74]*Tribune*, 24 Oct. 1859, p. 4.

[75]*Tribune*, 25 Oct. 1859, p. 4.

[76]*Ibid.*

[77]*Tribune*, 26 Oct. 1859, p. 6.

[78]*Tribune*, 28 Oct. 1859, p. 4.

[79]*Tribune*, 31 Oct. 1859, p. 4.

[80]Warren, *John Brown*, p. 393.

[81]*Tribune*, 1 Nov. 1859, p. 5.

[82]*Tribune*, 2 Nov. 1859, p. 4.

[83]*Ibid.*

[84]*Tribune*, 3 Nov. 1859, p.4.

[85]*Tribune*, 4 Nov. 1859, p. 4.

[86]*Tribune*, 4 Nov. 1859, p. 6; 7 Nov. 1859, p. 6; 8 Nov. 1859, p. 6; 9 Nov. 1859, p. 6; 16 Nov. 1859, p. 6; 17 Nov. 1859, p. 5; 21 Nov. 1859, p. 6; 1 Dec. 1859, p. 6; 2 Dec. 1859, p. 6.

[87]*Tribune*, 8 Nov. 1859, p. 6.

[88]*Ibid*

[89]*Tribune*, 8 Nov. 1859, p. 6; 10 Nov. 1859, p. 6; 15 Nov. 1859, p. 6.

[90]*Tribune*, 8 Nov. 1859, p. 6.

[91]*Tribune*, 9 Nov. 1859, p. 6.

[92]*Tribune*, 16 Nov. 1859, p. 6.

[93]*Tribune*, 17 Nov. 1859, p. 5.

[94]*Tribune*, 19 Nov. 1859, p. 5.

[95]*Tribune*, 16 Nov. 1859, p. 6; 19 Nov. 1859, p. 5; 24 Nov. 1859, p. 6.

[96]*Tribune*, 19 Nov. 1859, p. 5.

[97]*Tribune*, 24 Nov. 1859, p. 6.

[98]*Tribune*, 25 Nov. 1859, p. 5.

[99]*Tribune*, 29 Nov. 1859, p. 6.

[100]*Tribune*, 5 Nov. 1859, p. 4.

[101]*Tribune*, 7 Nov. 1859, p. 4.

[102]*Tribune*, 8 Nov. 1859, p. 6.

[103]*Ibid*.

[104]*Tribune*, 18 Nov. 1859, pp. 3-4; 19 Nov. 1859, pp. 4-5.

[105]*Tribune*, 19 Nov. 1859, p. 4.

[106]*Tribune*, 21 Nov. 1859, p. 6.

[107]*Tribune*, 22 Nov. 1859, p. 6.

[108]*Tribune*, 25 Nov. 1859, p. 4; 27 Nov. 1859, p. 4; 3 Dec. 1859, p. 6.

[109]D. G. Boyce, "Public Opinion and Historians," *The Journal of the Historical Association*, 63 (September 1978), p. 222.

[110]*Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XIX, p. 70.

[111]Don Seitz, *Horace Greeley* (Indianapolis, 1926), pp. 136-139.

[112]*Ibid*., pp. 136-137.

The "Blue Book" and Charles Siepmann – as Reported in *Broadcasting* Magazine

By Dave Berkman

That formal deregulation of broadcasting is upon us, is simply a *de jure* confirmation of what has been *de facto* since 1927.

There was, however, that one glorious, albeit fleeting, moment in 1946, when the FCC did attempt to introduce a concept of effective regulation – - one which in license renewal actions looked to the introduction of an eminently reasonable and non-revolutionary "procedure whereby (programming) promises (previously made by a broadcaster) will be compared with performance."[1]

I am, of course, referring to, and quoting from, the FCC's 1946 program policy statement, "Public Service Responsibilities of Broadcast Licensees" – - the document more familiarly known, because of the color of its cover, as the *Blue Book*.[2]

That the *Blue Book* quickly became little more than a bleached aberration – and that any chance that broadcast licensees might ever be held to the promises they made to obtain or renew their licenses, was forever lost – is a matter of history.

The viciousness with which the *Blue Book's* opponents fought the purposes of that document, and specifically the attack by the most vocal of those opponents against its principal author, is what I wish to examine here.

That the most vocal opponent to lead the fight against the *Blue Book* was the industry trade weekly, *Broadcasting*; the document's principal author was Charles Siepmann.

Equally important was the period: 1945-47.

In the recent spate of reminiscent writings about the 1950s, we often ignore that the paranoia and looking-inwardness of that decade, had its genesis in the reactions to World War II which characterized so much of the political psyche that dominated the last half of the 1940s.

Fear of foreigners, and the "isms" they might represent, was rampant. The

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DAVE BERKMAN (Ph. D., New York University) is professor and chair of the Department of Communication at the University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee. He has authored articles that have appeared in *Atlantic, Journal of Communication, New Republic, Columbia Journalism Review, Journalism Quarterly, Channels, Journal of Broadcasting, Access, Educational Forum, Public Telecommunications Review,* and *TV Quarterly,* among others.

uneasy alliance with the Soviet Union would not last a moment more than necessity dictated. But even our faithful ally, England, had just gone Socialist – and Socialism, as we all know, was the first major step on the road to Communism and that total dominance of our lives by government, which we had just fought a bloody war to prevent.

Charles Siepmann was tainted with two stigma: he was born an Englishman, and he had been a high-level official of the government financed – and what in the popular mind was always erroneously understood to be the government-controlled – BBC.

These stigma – in the theology of America's commercial broadcasters, the equivalent of original sin – were, as broadcast historian Erik Barnouw has stated, "like manna from heaven."[3]

As Genesis had made known that very first sin to its believers, *Broadcasting*, as the Bible of American radio, (and the then nascent TV), soon would make these two sins as well known to its adherents.

Those who are familiar with the contemporary *Broadcasting* – which, for the most part, adheres to the traditional journalistic ethics of separating editorialization from straight news (to a degree, in fact, which might cause one to wonder if those who write its editorials ever read what's in the front of the book!) – would find the *Broadcasting* of the mid-1940s a far different vehicle – one in which it was frequently impossible to determine where the editorialization on its news pages left off and the formal editorials began.

The opening sentence of the very first *Broadcasting* article (in the issue of July 30, 1945) to take note of Siepmann and his involvement in "a behind-the-scenes examination of the FCC license renewal procedure," which, nine months later, would become the *Blue Book*, asked: "Is there a move afoot to BBC-ize America's broadcasting?"[4]

In paragraph two we learned this examination was being conducted by "(a)n efficiency expert who formerly was director of program planning for the government-operated British Broadcasting Corp...."

Paragraph three revealed, "He is Charles I. Siepmann." (In fact, he is Charles *A.* Siepmann – but accuracy did not at that time seem a forte of *Broadcasting's* reporting.)

We went on to learn the following: Everybody at the FCC is mum about his activities"; that he is expected to "take an avid interest in programs" – and most sinister of all, that "his presence in the Commission was said to have been inspired by Commissioner Clifford J. Durr."

If the dire significance of this latter fact escaped any contemporaries, *Broadcasting* went on to inform us in the very next sentence that this was the "Commissioner Durr, who lists to portside in his social philosophies." (Many of the frequent references by *Broadcasting* to Durr in articles on the *Blue Book* and other matters throughout this period, omitted the natural obscurity, and simply identified Durr as "left-wing.")

Not only did we learn that Siepmann was an ex BBC-er, and that his presence came about at the behest of a left-wing Commissioner; we were almost immediately hit with the inference that he was, in addition, a man of mystery.

But first, in order to further establish the suspicious nature of Siepmann's previous government involvements – American as well as Anglo – we were

also informed that he had worked in the broadcast section of the Office of War Information.

OWI was a particular thorn in the side of the essentially anti-New Deal, American print and broadcast press establishment. Headed by the liberal Elmer Davis, and staffed by such as New Deal ideologue, Robert Sherwood, OWI was not just another FDR-created 'Alphabet Agency' – rather, it was seen by conservatives, both in Congress and in the media, as FDR's personal, wartime propaganda machine. Thus, ranking House Appropriations Republican, John Tabr (NY), labeled its broadcast efforts, films and other materials, as "partly drivel, partly insidious propaganda against Congress and for a(n FDR) fourth term." Taber even saw various of what it did as created "along Communist lines."[5] "The *Chicago Tribune* contributed to the uproar by denouncing OWI as a haven for communists and draft dodgers.[6]

After stating that Siepmann had "resigned from (his OWI) position," the next paragraph in this first *Broadcasting* article went on to rather non-sequiturishly inform us that "OWI spokesman told *Broadcasting* last week that Mr. Siepmann could be reached by calling Executive 3620 (the FCC number) and asking for 'Commissioner Durr's office.'" (Did *Broadcasting really* need to get the FCC's number from such a disreputable source as an "OWI spokesman"?)

"Mr. Siepmann was reached," we were then told – man of mystery that he might be, he was not incommunicado – "but he was not communicative." He refused to supply a "biography – for which he was asked – (since it) would have no bearing on his present assignment." (For this one could question Siepmann's judgment, insofar as his credentials certainly had a direct public interest bearing on his qualifications for the job he would be performing. But his background was far from secret and would be cited in detail in subsequent *Broadcasting* pieces.)

This introduction to the sinister foreign figure who soon would be held responsible for unleashing heresies of the most Satanic magnitude on American broadcasting, then went on to excerpt statements from an article Siepmann had authored three years earlier in *The New Republic*. These quotations made clear – as would the *Blue Book* itself – the author's concerns with the excesses of commercialization (qualitatively as well as quantitatively). That Siepmann at least held some qualified hope for commercial radio was also indicated by citation of his statement in the article, that "Commercial radio will survive only if the natural and necessary incentive of profit is subordinated to the public interest as a criterion of policy."[7]

However, the final paragraph of this first *Broadcasting* piece, concluded with the judgmental warning, "Apparently, this is Mr. Siepmann's first job experience in connection with commercial radio. His record reveals only that he had been employed by government-subsidized forms of the art – the BBC and America's wartime international broadcasting."

In a follow-up background piece on Siepmann a week later,[8] *Broadcasting* quoted at length from another article which Sipmann had authored some years earlier for the June 1941 issue of *Public Opinion Quarterly*.

This second *Broadcasting* story asserted, near its outset, that Siepmann's "background does not seem to qualify him, particularly, for such a technical job" – i.e., "to devise a system for expediting license renewal methods." This

was because – the old anti-government bugaboo again – "(h)is previous broadcasting experience has been with the government-operated or supervised forms of the art – the BBC and the U.S.-OWI Overseas Division."

Particularly disturbing to *Broadcasting* – and thus to the industry establishment it represented – was the final position Siepmann held with the BBC (from 1936 to 1939, just prior to coming to America to join the faculty at Harvard) as Director of Programme Planning.

Siepmann, it should be noted, was not insensitive to the attention focused on his British birth. In the preface to *Radio's Second Chance,* he wrote, that as a former BBC employee, "(N)o one who is not involved in the radio business can imagine quite what a blanket of black suspicion shrouds my smallest utterance as a result of that fact. And because of it I am also subject to another charge which may be more generally leveled. Though an American citizen, anyone of foreign origin who undertakes criticism of an American institution is open to the obvious retort: 'If you don't like it, why don't you go back to where you came from?'"[9]

Commenting on the questions Siepmann raised in his *POQ* article about the lack of serious content and the over-commercialism of American radio, *Broadcasting* stated that, "It can only be presumed by this commentary that Mr. Siepmann believes the American listening public is suffering under a delusion that it likes what it listens to, and that delusion is given substance through some magic exorcised (sic) by broadcasters."[10] On a more positive note, the trade journal conceded that "Much that Siepmann offers is constructive and thoughtful. All of it is written in convincing prose." But "(w)hat effect his probing at the FCC might have on radio in this country is not predictable right now, for no one at the FCC cares to talk about his assignment."

The final sentence of this second article was particularly interesting because of its conspiratorial implications: Siepmann "is being assisted in his work at the FCC by Eleanor Bontecue, former aid in the office of (Supreme Court) Justice Hugo Black who is Commissioner Durr's brother-in-law."

The rather dire fact was again noted the following week in a *Broadcasting* editorial titled "The Great Program Hoax"[11] in which the magazine editorial writer also noted how,

> One Charles I. (sic) Siepmann, ex-director of program planning of the government-owned BBC, until 1939 a resident of London, shows up at the FCC as a special expert on a job, the nature of which isn't revealed publicly. That story was told in our July 30 issue. Mr. Siepmann is performing his "special mission" with three assistants, operating from the office of Commissioner C. J. Durr....Mr. Siepmann, it is abundantly clear, is dealing in programs. That's his line. But he's never dealt in programs "by the American Plan." He was with BBC, which loaths the competition it suffered when our brand of radio was introduced in England for our GI's, and on which the British public eavesdropped to the point of almost ignoring BBC schedules.

Then followed the statement about Miss Bontecue, including a reiteration

of her suspicious ties to an in-law of Commissioner Durr.

But, it turned out, that Miss Bontecue had, in fact, never worked for Justice Black. This error was called to the attention of the editors by Commissioner Durr in a letter published in the August 27 edition.[12] As the editors conceded in their reply to Durr, "Miss Bontecou" (it also admitted an error in the spelling of her name) had been "endorsed by the Justice, and by his colleague, Mr. Justice Felix Frankfurter, for (a) position she (then held) in the Justice Department." This error, however, was not the real issue, according to the editors, for they concluded their correction by asking if "perhaps Commissioner Durr will be equally as helpful in telling *Broadcasting's* readers what has happened to Charles Arthur Siepmann, the BBC expert retained for an 'internal assignment' by the FCC...and to whom Miss Bontecou acted as an assistant."

Things "laid low" for awhile. The magazine, especially on its editorial pages, continued to take potshots at the BBC[13] but said nothing about Siepmann or his "mysterious assignment" until after the publication of the *Blue Book*.

The release of the document was the lead story in the issue of March 11, 1946.[14] Interestingly, neither the main story summarizing the document nor the sidebar on NAB President Justin Miller's negative reaction made any mention of Siepmann's role.

Siepmann's role, however, was given due notice in the coverage contained in the following issue,[15] which stated that "the issuance of the report was a victory for Comr. Clifford J. Durr" and that "(i)t is generally conceded that he had much to do with the retention of Charles I. (sic) Siepmann. Formerly a program director for the BBC...(he) spent most of his time developing the pattern for this report."

In the next issue of *Broadcasting* there began a series of editorials on the *Blue Book*. Labelling the report as "evasive (in its indictment of contemporary radio) as it is vicious" and comparing it in its subterfuge to that under which "Herman Goering built the German Airforce," the editorial warned against the implication for total government control of radio were its license renewal principles implemented: "Have we forgotten so soon the fanatical Pied Pipers of destruction who led the German and Italian people down a dismal road by the sweet sound of their treacherous voices on a radio which they programmed?"

Then came the tieing together of all the themes when, in answer to the question of "How was the report written?" the editorial answered the question thusly:

"It was written in great measure by Clifford J. Durr....It was written by Charles I. (sic) Siepmann, a former program director of the British Broadcasting Corp., who was hired to do the job at the insistence of Mr. Durr...."[16]

In the issue of April 8, a strawman was erected, if not exactly knocked down, in a long article which implied that in publishing his book, *Radio's Second Chance,* Siepmann was somehow exploiting his FCC connections. The article opened with the statement, "A popular edition of *'The Public Service Responsibility of Broadcast Licensees,'* was released today by Little, Brown and Co...."[17]

Siepmann had, in fact, been working on the book – which concluded that

with the coming fruition of FM, "Radio *has* a second chance,"[18] – for some period before his FCC *Blue Book* assignment. However, that at least some of what he learned while with the Commission did work its way into the book, is beyond dispute.[19] But one would have to question the moral overkill in *Broadcasting's* assertion as to whether "(t)he propriety of permitting Siepmann his examination of FCC records, which are closed to the press and to licensees, and subsequently basing a book upon his discoveries would be best left to the conscience of the Commissioners...."[20]

Again, *Broadcasting* raised the bogeyman of the mystery surrounding Siepmann's Commission work. "His duties at the FCC were carefully shrouded by the Commission's press department and by the Commissioners themselves."

Halfway through the article, following the innuendoes about how Siepmann exploited his position, there began an actual discussion of the book: "*Radio's Second Chance* is written with clarity, with forcefulness and with evident honesty." Then, surprisingly, the piece continued with the concession that "Mr. Siepmann believes, by his own testimony, in America's system of broadcasting," quoting his comment, "'I do not advocate or anywhere imply that the United States would do well to adopt the British system....We certainly should not.'" There then followed a relatively fair and accurate summary of *Second Chance*.

However, near the end of the article, the tone reverted to the more usual when, in a Mark Antony-like assertion – with counterpointed reiteration of the guilt-by-association theme – the *Broadcasting* writer stated,

> No comment on *Radio's Second Chance* made here is intended to be prejudicial against Mr. Siepmann, who is an honorable man bent upon his own high designs. But comment will be labeled as prejudicial – can and should be – against the manner in which the book emerged from the cloistered chambers which gave it birth. Inevitably it must be asked – is Charles Siepmann its father or is he a midwife who stood in patient attendance at the bower of Clifford J. Durr?

Yet, even with this, the writer urged that,

> *Radio's Second Chance* should be read by all broadcasters. It presents a problem in sincere words, though hardly with utter detachment. There will be those who may contest its conclusions. If it does nothing else, it offers in understandable language, with illustrations, the text of the FCC program report.

An editorial in the series dealing with the *Blue Book*, which appeared in the next issue of *Broadcasting*, opened with the charge that there was developing evidence "of the cold calculation with which the FCC planned the *Blue Book*."[21] Among the indices cited was that publication of *Radio's Second Chance* a month after the *Blue Book's* issuance, and various developments in the Senate and at the FCC, related to FM, such as an announcement of the Commission's favorable reaction to a Senate committee recommendation that FM ownership be limited to a single station.

Conspiracy?

> "FM broadcasting is radio's second chance," said Senator James E. Murray, chairman of the Senate Small Business Committee, in commenting upon the Committee's Report....
>
> Are we to assume that both the good Senator and Mr. Siepmann hit upon this fetching phrase, "radio's second chance," through independent conjuring? Or is it not more reasonable to suspect that Jerome Spingarn, counsel for the Committee, might have worked rather harmoniously with the FCC – where he had been employed in the War Problems Division which was abolished by command of Congress?

On May 20, there appeared a story headed "Bridges Says Siepmann Was Paid $839."[22] This was the total paid Siepmann in compensation and per diem (of $6 a day) for the twenty-one days he worked on preparation of the *Blue Book*.

Senator Styles Bridges (R., N.H.) wanted to know why the FCC – an arm of the U.S. Government – saw fit to employ "at an impressive salary, a person trained by the governmentally dominated British Broadcasting System which is opposed in principle and practice to our American System."

This "impressive salary,"[23] in fact, merely equated the $8,000-a-year figure which *Broadcasting* had already reported was to be Siepmann's compensation at least four times previously.[24] Here, too, the question was raised – this time by Senator Bridges rather than by *Broadcasting*, itself – as to "why it was that after Mr. Siepmann's study of FCC confidential data, his book was published to retail at $2.50, with royalties to Siepmann?"

On June 17, in its fifteenth editorial on the *Blue Book*, the portentious BBC-Siepmann-Federal government lash-up was again hit home at, when the editors noted:

> The *Blue Book* was conceived in the minds of men of Government. It was conceived spontaneously, with no audible demand from the public which should give impetus to reform if reform is indicated. It was written in great part by a man practiced in the Government radio art of Great Britain. It was installed in a fait accompli on March 7, and its effects were felt throughout broadcasting before licensees had received copies of it.[25]

A month later, in an editorial headed "Britannia Rules the Waves," in which *Broadcasting's* editors commented on various BBC matters in the news, a conspiracy was uncovered – one which involved not only the BBC and the FCC (with, of course, Charles Siepmann as catalyst) but now the CBC, as well!

> The hand of the BBC has reached into Canada, where a Parliamentary Committee currently is seeking to place increased restraints upon commercial stations....There is open collaboration between Canada's CBC, which is both the regulatory body and the principal operating entity, and the

> FCC. The FCC's *Blue Book* on programming is a key Government exhibit. Remember, too, that Charles Siepmann, who helped write the *Blue Book*, was a former program director of BBC in London.[26]

Buried in the back-of-the-book continuation of the "Closed Circuit" section of the next issue, was a note about the apparent poor sales of *Radios's Second Chance*. With what must have been some glee, the magazine stated "One report was that it has sold about 1,800 copies, which would indicate public isn't concerned with radio reforms."[27]

In a half-column report in August, Siepmann was quoted from an article in the then current (August, 1946) issue of *American Mercury*. This article noted Siepmann's claim that, so far, the *Blue Book* has "elicited generally favorable press reaction with the exception of the Hearst newspapers and Collier's....'Only the industry itself,'" it cited Siepmann as stating, "'appears unanimous in its objection.'"[28]

The last paragraph of this four-paragraph article informed us that, "Dr. Siepmann[29] has no fear of government control. 'Our systems of checks and balances can easily keep us from that path,' he writes...."

In the first issue of *Broadcasting* of September, in the sixteenth *Blue Book* editorial, we were warned that a Canadian Parliamentary Committee recommendation to convert three AM clear channels from commercial to Government-operated CBC operation,

> "is an extremely interesting development for those who contemplate the implications of the *Blue Book*....Is there (the *Broadcasting* editorial writer goes on to query with more than a hint of alarm) a reason, therefore, to view with passing wonder the curious similarities between the recommendation of a Canadian Government Committee and those of the FCC? Or should one accept and pass over lightly, the fact that the hand which wrote the *Blue Book* once guided the programming department of the BBC?[30]

No further specific reference to Siepmann can be found for the next six months.

However, the lead article in the February 17, 1947, issue carried a full, across-the-page, banner head, "Blue Book's Author Prepped at CBC" together with the dire sub-head, "Canadian Report Brings to Light New Facts."[31] A boxed "Editor's Note" recalled an earlier promise by *Broadcasting* "that we were not through with our study of the *Blue Book* and those who sponsored it." Continuing to hint that there must be behind the document a major conspiracy, the note warned, "This story is written in the firm belief that all of the factors which motivated issuance of the *Blue Book* have not emerged. We believe that until they do emerge, free broadcasting in the United States is in jeopardy."

(It is interesting to note here that while this editor's note implied further coverage – and perhaps expose! – this article was the last of its kind, perhaps because, by then, it had been generally accepted that the *Blue Book* was, for

all practical purposes, a dead issue.)

What this story revealed, was that, four years earlier, "Charles Siepmann, the BBC-trained (sic) program expert who figured prominently in writing the *Blue Book*, also wrote a report on the national Canadian Broadcasting Corp. before turning his talents to American radio."

Most of the article, after its less than startling opening revelation, went on to imply something conspiratorial in the fact that an earlier report dealing with the CBC had been authored by an Eric Estorick, who, it seems, (1) had been an instructor at NYU from 1939 to 1941, while Siepmann recently had been appointed to his professorship there; (2) had worked for three months in 1941 at the same FCC that employed Siepmann for twenty-one days in 1945; (3) had, like Siepmann, worked for OWI during the war – although while Siepmann worked in its D.C. and San Francisco offices, Estorick apparently was employed in performing his OWI duties in New York.

"And, of course," the article went on to reiterate, "adding to the interesting parallels in the respective careers of Mr. Siepmann and Mr. Estorick is the fact that each had studies by the CBC – one in 1941, and one a year later."

The rest of this final *Broadcasting* piece marked a leap into a new realm: Redbaiting! Indeed, it constituted such an early and classic example of the Redbaiting-guilt-by-association techniques, that it merits extensive quotation:

> What has happened to Mr. Estorick since his employment by the Federal government is unknown. A British Embassy official reported he had seen him in the Dorchester House, London, in October, 1946. A check through *Broadcasting's* London correspondent revealed that he had checked out of that hotel in November of last year.
>
> The *Partisan Review*, a publication which has come under the scrutiny of Congressional investigating committees, has carried material written by an "Eric Estorick." The *Partisan Review* displayed the subtitle in its masthead "a bimonthly of revolutionary literature published by the John Reed Club of New York." This club was named for one of the founders of the Communist movement in the United States.
>
> An Eric Estorick is author of an introduction to the book, *Left Turn, Canada* (Duell, Sloane & Pearce Inc., June 6, 1945).
>
> An Eric Estorick also is a Cripps biographer, author of *Stafford Cripps: Prophetic Rebel* (November 3, 1941).[32]
>
> Mr. Siepmann was asked if he was, as charged in one Congrssional report, a member of the League of American Writers. "I never even heard of it until that false charge emerged," he commented. The League had been branded by Francis J. Biddle, when Attorney General, as "a Communist-front" organization.
>
> Mr. Siepmann has flatly denied an affiliation or sympathy for the Communist movement. And Mr. Siepmann has indicated strongly that his acquaintance with Estorick was only casual, regardless of the fact that their paths have crossed at New York

U., in the FCC, OWI and at the CBC.

But, if Communist sympathy or affiliation could not be proven against Siepmann, the next thing *could* clearly be shown:

> Mr. Siepmann acknowledges, however, that he spent over a decade with the BBC before coming to North America; and that he spent some time studying and reporting on the state-owned Canadian system of broadcasting before being retained by the Federal Government to issue a program report on America's free-enterprise broadcasting.

Redbaited, as well as having been proven guilty beyond any reasonable doubt of English birth, Charles Siepmann – at least in terms of any negative imputations concerning his connection with the *Blue Book* – disappeared from the pages of *Broadcasting*.[33]

In the interest of complete openess and full disclosure, the writer should note his own relation with Professor Siepmann.

For three years he studied under him, as both a course instructor and as chair of his doctoral committee (1960-63).

His regard for Siepmann is almost reverential.

He found Siepmann's "ethos" (to use one of Siepmann's favorite terms) to be spellbinding. His command of the English language, in both his speech and writing, was the most profound the writer has ever encountered.

Nothing could be more absurd than to charge Charles Siepmann with being favorable to censorship. For five years (from 1955 to 1960) he served as Board Chairman of the New York Civil Liberties Union. His opposition to any censorship was as absolute as Justice Douglas' or Black's – or as Mill's or Milton's (all of whom he would frequently quote).

That the hatchet job documented here, could be done on anyone, was bad enough. But the magnitude of this wrong when the target was Charles Siepmann, increases its grossness many-fold.

For this was the Charles Siepmann whose true nature was best revealed when he wrote of broadcasting and the role it could play in the world, as one

> similar to the abiding role of great literature...of furnishing opportunities to transcend our circumstances, experiences and capacities by taking flights of fancy with great thinkers...to introduce us to new thoughts that we alone would never have conceived, to expose us to beauty which we never dreamed existed, and to admit us to an understanding of pain and complexity that we never dared face....[34]

It was less than a glorious moment in trade press journalism.

NOTES

[1]"Public Service Responsibility of Broadcast Licensees" (1946), reprinted in Frank J. Kahn, editor, *Documents of American Broadcasting*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1973), p. 152.

[2]There are those who would contend that an assertion of overall FCC ineffectiveness ignores the Commission's success a few years prior to issuance of the *Blue Book* in altering the structure of programming and network-affiliate relations, through its 1941 "Chain Regulations." A case can be made, however, that the ultimate effect of the regulations, whose aim was to loosen the hold which networks maintained at that time over broadcasting, was at best cosmetic – and, in the long run, even counter-productive.

[3]Erik Barnouw, *The Golden Web* (New York, 1968), p. 232.

[4]Robert K. Richards, "Charles Siepmann Is Specialist in Programs," p. 1.

[5]Quoted in John Morton Blum, *V was for Victory* (New York, 1976), p. 40.

[6]Cabell Phillips, *The 1940s: Decade of Triumph and Trouble* (New York, 1975), p. 102.

[7]"Radio's Big Chance," *New Republic*, Jan. 12, 1942, pp. 46-48. Surprisingly, the *Broadcasting* writer missed a golden opportunity to "nail" Siepmann by not citing his statement, "A worldwide planned economy is a post-war imperative" (p. 47).

[8]Robert K. Richards, "His Writings Indicate Ex-BBC Executive Is Program Critic," *Broadcasting*, Aug. 6, 1945, p. 3.

[9]Charles A. Siepmann, *Radio's Second Chance* (Boston, 1947), p. vii.

[10]The *POQ* piece ("Radio's Second Chance," pp. 308-312) was not so naive or elitist as the *Broadcasting* quotations, comments, and interpretation implied. Siepmann made a clear distinction between what he termed "the so-called highbrow, and interest of the vox populi." He took "intellectuals" to task for "their indifference to radio matched only by their ignorance and unawareness of its importance even within fields of study with which they are concerned" (pp. 309-310). He suggested that popular criticism could work to "secure a local voice in directing the listeners of broadcasting" – with such criticism "in the language of the people." Read in context, his statement about "the illusion that (radio) gives people what they want" seems eminently practical – at least to the extent that one regards democracy as practical. The *Broadcasting* article misquoted Siepmann as using the word "delusion," when he had used "illusion."

[11]Aug. 13, 1945, p. 42.

[12]P. 34

[13]See, for example, the editorials of Nov. 19 (p. 56) and Dec. 3 (p. 40).

[14]Robert K. Richards, "FCC Hits Programs; NAB Strikes Back," p. 15.

[15]Robert K. Richards, "Freedom of Air at Stake, Solons Declare," March 18, 1946, p. 15.

[16]"F(ederal) C(ensorship) C(ommission)," March 8, 1946, p. 58.

[17]Robert K. Richards, "Free to Broadcasting, $2.50 to Listeners," p. 20.

[18]*Radio's Second Chance*, p. 239.

[19]Siepmann wrote in the preface: "For material in several chapters in this book I have drawn on studies which I made while employed in July 1945, as special consultant to the FCC." *Ibid.*, pp. vi-vii.

[20]Today, of course, we see a healthy spate of publications by ex-government officials about the inner workings of government – the most relevant example being Barry Cole's *Reluctant Regulators* (Reading, Mass., 1978), in which he describes his life and times as an aide to former FCC chairman Richard Wiley.

[21]"Program Report V," April 15, 1945, p. 58.

[22]P. 20.

[23]It should be noted that in 1946, when an FCC commissioner's salary was $10,000 a year, a per diem equivalent on a pro-rated basis of $8,000, legitimately could be termed "impressive."

[24]In the following issues: July 10, 1945, p. 16; Aug. 6, 1945, p. 20; March 18, 1946, p. 101; and April 8, 1946, p. 20.

[25]"Program Report: XV," *Broadcasting*, p. 52.

[26]July 15, 1946, p. 52.

[27]July 22, 1946, p. 97.

[28]"Siepmann Terms Critics Abusive," Aug. 5, 1946, p. 40.

[29]While Siepmann was referred to as "Dr.," his highest degree was a B. A. The attribution to him of a Ph. D. was due probably to his having accepted an appointment to the New York University faculty, in which capacity he served through the 1960s.

[30]Sept. 2, 1946, p. 50.

[31]Feb. 17, 1947, p. 13.

[32]Stafford Cripps served as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the first, post-war British Labor (Socialist) government.

[33]Such was the case at least through July 1948, when after finding a year of no further follow-up, this author ceased his search.

[34]"The Role of Serious Broadcasters in Today's Society," *Educational Research Bulletin* (March 1957), p. 62.

The Absence of the First Amendment in *Schenck v. United States:* A Reexamination

By Jeremy Cohen

Historians, legal scholars and others interested in freedom of speech have focused a great deal on the First Amendment implications of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes' opinion in *Schenck v. United States*.[1] The 1919 case was the first time the Supreme Court considered a lower court decision to jail individuals under provisions of federal espionage and sedition legislation.[2] Charles Schenck and his co-defendant, Elizabeth Baer, were convicted under the 1917 Espionage Act that made it a crime to "willfully obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service."[3]

The defendants were Socialists and, in essence, their crime consisted of distributing circulars in 1917 critical of the draft and the war in Europe. In upholding the convictions Justice Holmes formulated his not famous "clear and present danger" doctrine in which he likened the defendant's speech to "falsely shouting fire in a theater and causing a panic."[4]

In *Handbook of Free Speech and Free Press*, Jerome Barron and Thomas Dienes stated, "The Schenck case and its successors forced the Court to consider to what degree the First Amendment guarantees prohibiting abridgments on freedom of speech and press should be taken literally."[5]

This approach is attractive to journalists, civil libertarians and others interested in he freedoms of speech and press because it focuses upon events marked by suppression of speech and on constitutional guarantees of speech and press. The approach is natural. *Schenck* involved congressional legislation abridging freedom of speech.

Absent in the literature, however, is any thorough analysis of the legal methodology Justice Holmes used in his initial development of the clear and present danger doctrine in *Schenck*. An analysis of this methodology may go a long way toward explaining why Justice Holmes and the Supreme Court appeared to be unsympathetic toward what we consider today to be the rights inherent in the First Amendment. Careful analysis of Holmes' *Schenck* opinion suggests the following: (1) Justice Holmes was far more influenced by non-First Amendment methods of judicial decision making than by a careful

JEREMY COHEN (Ph. D., Communications, University of Washington) is assistant professor of communication at Stanford University.

legal analysis of the constitutional prohibition against interference with freedom of speech; (2) Holmes' clear and present danger test may be viewed as a metaphor intended to clarity a statutory interpretation rather than as a constitutional test; (3) Holmes appeared to ignore his own clear and present danger test as there was never a showing that the defendant's pamphlets in fact caused a clear and present danger; and (4) analyses of *Schenck* generally have failed to distinguish between the inherent First Amendment issues present in any case involving an abridgement of speech and the judicial methodology the Court was compelled to follow – a methodology in which First Amendment considerations were unnecessary to the final outcome of the case.

The existing literature documents and analyzes *Schenck* as one example of intolerance toward free speech in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[6] The Espionage Act cases are often treated as a courtroom clash between the government and the First Amendment right to speak or print views that are outside the mainstream of popular thought.

American courts have often relied on the language of the Espionage Act cases in their evolving interpretation of First Amendment freedoms.[7] There is no dearth of material in the academic legal community, primarily law journals and law reviews, that thouroughly examines First Amendment implications present in the Espionage Act cases.[8] The major thrust in the law journals and reviews is the analysis of judicial tests and formulas bearing on the First Amendment. The clear and present danger test, the bad tendency doctrine, and balancing have each received analysis based on the assumption that these judicial approaches represented the Supreme Court's careful analysis of the First Amendment in 1919 and the years following.

But the Supreme Court had almost no First Amendment precedent of its own to turn to when it heard *Schenck*. The Court had never used the First Amendment to check the use of legislative authority.[9] A Holmes letter sent to Harold Laski just days before the *Schenck* opinion was announced suggests the justice was troubled by the case and that he was acutely aware of a difference between his personal opinion and his professional duty.

> At last I get a pause – all too late; though I had a little one in which I tucked in a book or two – but then came there a certain judge and asked me to take a case, one that I hoped the Chief would give me, but which wrapped itself around me like a snake in a deadly struggle to present the obviously proper in the forms of logic – the real substance being: Damn your eyes – that's the way it's going to be.[10]

The letter suggests Holmes was sympathetic to upholding the defendants' right of free speech, but because of a rule of law – the "obviously proper" – upholding the convictions was "the way 'it's' going to be." Holmes was eager to take on the case – "one that I hoped the Chief would give me" – but he also was troubled by the implications of the situation that "wrapped itself around me like a snake in a deadly struggle."

A letter written to Sir Edmund Pollock two months later adds credence to this interpretation. Holmes complained that "fools, knaves and ignorant

persons " were criticizing his Espionage Act decisions, insinuating that a defendant such as Schenck lost in the Court "because he was a dangerous agitator and that obstructing the draft was just a pretense."[11] But Holmes hardly appeared to believe Schenck and others prosecuted under the Espionage Act were truly "dangerous agitators." He wrote to Pollock that April,

> Now I hope the President will pardon him and some other poor devils with whom I have more sympathy. Those whose cases who have come before us have seemed poor fools whom I should be inclined to pass over if I could. The greatest bores in the world are the come-outers who are cock-sure of a dozen nostrums. The dogmatism of a little education is hopeless.[12]

The crime in the Espionage Act cases, at least in Holmes' mind, was obstruction of the draft, a deed punishable under the Act, and the defendants were punished for violating the act, not for voicing their opinions. "There was a lot of jaw about freedom of speech," Holmes told Pollock, "which I dealt with somewhat summarily in an earlier case – *Schenck v. U. S.* ...and *Frohwerk v. U. S.*...As it happens I should go further probably than the majority in favor of it, and I daresay that it was partly on that account that the C. J. assigned the cases to me.[13]

Holmes apeared to be telling his friend Pollock that the First Amendment was a false issue in the Espionage Act decisions. The cases were based on the commission of a criminal act proscribed by Congress. Free speech was simply dealt with "summarily."

Holmes was troubled philosophically about the free speech element in the Espionage Act cases, but he was convinced that he must be guided in his decisions by a rule of law rather that a free speech philosophy. Writing to Laski about *Schenck* and other Espionage Act cases, Holmes said, "I greatly regretted having to write them – and (between ourselves) that the Government pressed them to a hearing."[14] Once pressed, however, Holmes saw his judicial duty. "But on the only question before us," Holmes told Laski, "I could not doubt about the law. The federal judges seem to me (again between ourselves) to have got hysterical about the war. I should think the President when he gets through with his present amusements might do some pardoning."[15]

Laski replied two days later, "The point, I take it, is that to act otherwise would be to simply substitute judicial discretion for executive indiscretion with the presumption of knowledge against you. I think that you would agree that none of the accused ought to have been prosecuted; but since they have been and the statute is there, the only remedy lies in the field of pardon."[16]

Holmes wrote a similar justification for his Espionage Act case decisions to scholar Herbert Croly. "I cannot doubt," Holmes said, "that there was evidence warranting a conviction on the disputed issue of fact. Moreover I think the *causes under consideration* not only were constitutional but were proper enough while the war was on."[17] (Holmes' emphasis.) Holmes told Croly that generally he favored "aeration of all effervescing convictions – there is no way so quick for letting them get flat."[18] Nevertheless, Congress

had the right to prevent certain actions whether they were accomplished "by persuasion" or "by force."[19]

Holmes' letter to Croly was consistent with his jurisprudential approach. Sixteen years earlier in *Northern Securities Company v. United States*, Holmes wrote, "the statute must be construed in such a way as not merely to save its constitutionality but, so far as is consistent with a fair interpretation, not to raise grave doubts on that score."[20] In *Schenck*, the letter suggests, Holmes read the Espionage Act narrowly and found the "clauses under consideration" were constitutional. With the constitutional issue settled, the central question was whether "there was evidence warranting a conviction on the disputed issue of fact." The letter also suggests, however, that Holmes was not convinced that there was a real danger in the speech that led eventually to the prosecution under the Espionage Act. Nevertheless, even if such speech usually went "flat," the dedendants' expressions were part of an action outlawed by Congress.

Justice Holmes operated under the tenet that his judicial duty required him to uphold the law, even if the specific law in question was not to his liking. His Espionage Act decisions in no way contradict this. Holmes summed up his jurisprudence well in a 1916 letter to Laski:

> The scope of state soverignty is a question of fact. It asserts itself as omnipotent in the sense that what it sees fit to order it will make you obey. You may very well argue that it ought not to order certain things, and I agree. But if the government does see fit to order them...I conceive that order as much law as any other – not merely from the point of view of the Court, which of course will obey it, but from any other rational point of view – if as would be the case, the government had the physical power to enforce its command. Law also as well as sovereignty is a fact.[21]

It is clear from his letters that Justice Holmes was aware of certain First Amendment considerations throughout the *Schenck* proceeding. But to what extent the First Amendment shaped the *Schenck* decision, and exactly what rule of law Holmes turned to remains to be discussed.

Holmes Opinion

Justice Holmes' entire *Schenck* opinion required just over 1,500 words. He began with a summary of the indictments against Elizabeth Baer and Charles Schenck. The lower court found them guilty of conspiracy to commit an offense against the United States, and unlawful use of the mail.[22] The defendants, Holmes wrote, "set up the First Amendment to the Constitution forbidding Congress to make any law abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, and bringing the case here on that ground have argued some other points of which we must dispose."[23] The defendants' "other points" constituted about one-half of Holmes' opinion in which the justice addressed three non-First Amendment questions. Was there sufficient evidence to prove that Baer and Schenck conspired to violate the Espionage Act? Was the evidence seized under a search warrant admissable in the court? Did the circulars in question actually constitute the commission of an illegal act? Each

question required Holmes to make a judgment about a rule of law.

The Conspiracy. Was the evidence against Baer and Schenck sufficient to convict them on conspiracy? The first question required a technical determination based on the accepted traditions and standards of law.

"No reasonable man," Holmes said, "could doubt that the defendant Schenck was largely instrumental in sending the circulars about."[24] Holmes cited trial testimony that Schenck was general secretary of the Socialist party and was "in charge of the Socialist headquarters from which the documents were sent."[25] Schenck supervised the printing. Minutes from the August 13, 1917, Socialist meeting recoded that Schenck was "allowed $125 for sending the leaflets through the mail."[26]

"As to the defendant Baer," Holmes wrote, "there was evidence that she was a member of the Executive Board and that the minutes of its transactions were hers."[27] Holmes found the evidence sufficient "without going into confirmatory details that were proved" at the trial.[28]

"The argument as to the sufficiency of the evidence that the defendants conspired to send the documents," Holmes concluded, "only impairs the seriousness of the real defense."[29]

The sufficiency question raised no constitutional dimensions. Justice Holmes' reference to the "seriousness of the real defence" chided the weakness of the first evidentiary point of law under contention. But if the real defense was the First Amendment argument Holmes referred to in his preceding paragraph as the grounds on which the case was brought, he was not yet ready to address that issue.

The Admissibility of Evidence. The second question, whether the evidence seized under a search warrant was admissible in court, was technical and again required no First Amendment interpretations.

Defense attorneys Henry Gibbons and Henry Nelson argued that because the defendants wrote some of the documents gathered under a warrant to search the Socialist headquarters at 1326 Arch Street, using those documents as evidence against them violated their constututional rights. The argument was based on the Fifth Amendment prohibition against self-incrimination that states, "No person...shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." The attorneys asked the Court to accept the premise that the evidentiary use of the documents written by their clients amounted to the same thing as forcing Baer and Schenck to testify against themselves. The constitutional connection was tenuous and the attorneys appeared to realize it as they couched their statement with qualifiers. *"In theory, at least, the defendants maintain* that the Constitution was intended, *in this respect*, to prevent a prosecutor from making a defendant testify against himself."[30] (Emphasis added.)

The issue was a familiar element of criminal law, not an untried theory on the frontier of constitutional adjudication. Justice Holmes dismissed the argument in four sentenced citing four cases as precedent. The warrant was valid. Precedent clearly supported finding the evidence seized under the warrant was admissible. The attempt to find a constitutional violation was "plainly unsound" and merited no further comment from the justice.[31]

Violation of the Espionage Act. The third queston was whether in fact the defendants violated the Espionage Act when their anti-draft circulars were

written and distributed. Holmes parried with the free speech element as he answered the question, but it is important to note that the justice saw a major distinction between whether the act was violated and whether the First Amendment made the act itself unconstitutional. The First Amendment element was peripheral to deciding whether the defendants violated the Espionage Act prohibition against "obstructing the recruiting and enlistment service of the United States, when the United States was at war with the German Empire."[32]

It was clear to Holmes the defendants conspired to violate the act.

"In impassioned language (the defendants' circular) intimated that conscription was despotism in its worst form and a monstrous wrong against humanity in the interest of Wall Street's chosen few," Holmes reiterated.[33] The circular said that people were duty bound to oppose the draft. "Of course the document," Holmes reasoned, "would not have been sent unless it had been intended to have some effect, and we do not see what effect it could be expected to have upon persons subject to the draft except to influence them to obstruct the carrying of it out."[34]

Baer and Schenck did not argue the contention that they in fact wanted to disrupt the draft and Holmes noted the void in their argument. "The defendants do not deny," Holmes said, "that the jury might find against them on this point."[35]

Gibbons and Nelson did, however, attempt to raise a philosophical defense for their clients.

"The defendants contend they are not criminals in the ordinary sense of the word," the attorneys said. "This is a political queston. No matter what the law may be, no matter what even this high Court may decide, there is a question here of human freedom which will not down in spite of what the laws may say or what the laws may be."[36]

The defendants' reasoning presented a moral rather that a judicial question. Justice Holmes had considered the issue of morals and law twenty-two years earlier when he wrote, "Nothing but confusion of thought can result from assuming that the rights of man in a moral sense are equally rights in the sense of the Constitution and the law."[37] The defendants admittedly looked for relief despite "what the laws may say or what the laws may be." Clearly it was not an argument Holmes could act on. Questions of public morality were for the legislature, not the courts. Holmes understood that invididuals could find individual laws untenable. Nevertheless, the concept of the law itself required obedience to the rules, and a major tenet of the law was the censure of acts unacceptable to the government. State sovereignty, Holmes had written to Harold Laski three years earlier, "asserts itself as omnipotent in the sense that what it sees fit to order it will make you obey."[38] Moral arguments were insufficient to prevent the Court from upholding the legislative will.

The tone of the defense arguments suggests the attorneys knew they were not on solid legal ground. Gibbons and Nelson argued "the right of free speech, if allowed fully, gives the right to persuade another to violate a law, since legally, it is actually the one who violates the law who should be punished."[39] With no precedent to support such a claim, the attorneys said, "as the homely adage has it, 'you don't have to put your hand into the fire because I tell you to do so.'"[40] Holmes' interest appeared to be piqued,

however, by the rationale the defense offered for its unique distinction between a person who persuades another to violate a law and the person who physically violated the law. "This is the distinction between words and acts," the Socialists' lawyers said.[41]

Speech as a Criminal Act. The concern with the distinction between words and acts was important. The First Amendment protected citizens from government interference with speech, but not from interference with illegal acts. If words could be viewed by the Court as an *act*, rather than as *speech*, the First Amendment would no longer be a central issue in the case. The question for the Court became: can speech be considered an act?

"We admit that in many places and in ordinary times," Holmes wrote, "the defendants in saying all that was said in the circular would have been within their constitutional rights."[42] Holmes' words appear to be a First Amendment interpretation, but a counterinterpretation is suggested when Holmes' statement is placed within the context of his next sentence: "But the character of every act depends upon the circumstances in which it is done."[43] The first sentence offered a qualified protection for speech. Speech was protected "in many places and in ordinary times." But in the next sentence, without transition, the concept of speech disappeared and was replaced with "the character of every *act*." Holmes cited his fifteen-year-old opinion for the Court in *Aikens v. Wisconsin* for support.[44]

Aikens involved newspaper publishers, but was not a First Amendment or free speech case. Three publishers were accused of telling their advertising clients that if they submitted to an advertising-rate hike at a fourth newspaper, similar rate hikes would be established at the other three papers. The publishers' pact to pressure advertisers violated a Wisconsin statute "prohibiting combinations for the purpose of willfully or maliciously injuring another in his...trade, business or profession."[45]

When Holmes cited *Aikens* he removed his judicial methodology from the realm of First Amendment interpretation and placed it into the more familiar arena of deduction based on general legal principles and case-law precedent. *Aikens* had nothing to do with free speech. Yet Holmes reasoned that logically, if not substantively, *Aikens* and *Schenck* carried parallel implications for deciding a case. Holmes' jurisprudence was not unique. Deductive reasoning is the bulwark of judicial decision making. The legal reasoning of past cases, rather than the identical fact situations, were and still are used to deduce the proper legal rule.[46] Holmes had used the concept of deciding cases from general principles established in earlier decisions in his 1881 treatise, *The Common Law*

Holmes' reference to *Aikens* involved a long, but important passage:

> But an act, which in itself is merely a voluntary muscalar contraction, derives all its character from the consequences which will follow it under the circumstances in which it was done. When the acts consist of making a combination calculated to cause temporal damage, the power to punish such acts, when done maliciously, cannot be denied because they are to be followed and worked out by conduct which might have been lawful if not preceded by the acts. No conduct has such an

> absolute privilege as to justify all possible schemes of which it may be a part. The most innocent and constitutionally protected of acts or omissions may be made a step in criminal plot, and if it is a step in a plot neither its innocence nor the Constitution is sufficient to prevent the punishment of the plot by law.[47]

No speech element was present in *Aikens*, yet the legal principle was applicable to *Schenck*. Normally people may "combine." Normally people may "speak freely." But the character and circumstances of the act, not the abstract *combination* or *speech*, determined the proper legal rule to be applied. Holmes had no need to risk a constitutional confrontation. The proper legal rule and the resolution of *Schenck* could be deduced from the general legal principles set down in *Aikens*.

Justice Holmes' next five sentences are perhaps his most remembered utterances from *Schenck*.

> The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theater and causing a panic. It does not even protect a man from an injunction against uttering words that may have all the effect of force. *Gompers v. Buck Stove and Range Co.*, 221 U.S. 418, 439. The question in every case is whether the words are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent. It is a question of proximity and degree. When a nation is at war many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hinderance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight and that no Court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right.[48]

These lines have proved the most troubling for those interested in the First Amendment. They establish an exception to the constitutional admonition against congressional interference with speech. When words create a "clear and present danger" during a time of war they cannot be "endured" or "protected by any constitutional right."

Holmes' clear and present danger doctrine appeared to have all the attributes of a judicial constitutional interpretation. It established a judicial test to determine the circumstances under which speech may be abridges. But an examination of Holmes' jurisprudence – that is, the methodological process he followed to construct the clear and present danger test – indicates far more attention to criminal law precedent and generalized principles than to a carefully reasoned inerpretation of the First Amendment.

Holmes' fire-in-a-theater metaphor was neither law nor legal philosphy. It was an example intended to clarify a phrase for which Holmes had in mind a technical legal definition: "uttering words that may have all the force of effect." The notion of words as one and the same as actions because of effect does not come from the Constitution, but from *Gompers v. Buck Stove and Range Co.*, a 1910 case that dealt with a boycott.[49] Labor leader Samuel Gompers was held in comtempt for violating an injunction restraining him

and others from a boycott or "publishing any statement that there was or had been a boycott" against the stove company.

Gompers argued that his circular, which in fact encouraged a boycott, was protected by the First Amendment. In an unsigned opinion that paralled some of the logic in *Schenck* the Court ruled that an act, rather that speech, was the issue before the Court. "Under such circumstances," the Court said, "(words) become what (have) been called 'verbal acts,' as much subject to injunction as the use of any other force whereby the property is unlawfully damaged."[50]

Gompers provided precedent for Holmes that words and acts could be one and the same. "The strong current of authority," the Court had announced nine years prior to *Schenck*, "is that the publication and use of letters, circulars and printed matter may constitute a means whereby a boycott is unlawfully continued, and their use for such purposes may amount to a violation of the order of injunction."[51] The Gompers Court cited fifteen cases an authority. Again, Holmes had no need to chart new constitutionl territory in *Schenck*. The precedent was there for the taking.

The first four of Holmes' five-sentence clear and present danger doctrine simply applied a variation on the theme set by precedent found in case law such as *Gompers* and *Aikens* – a word can be an act and Congress has the authority to prohibit certain acts. The fifth sentence returned, tangentially, to the Constitution. "When a nation is at war many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hinderance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight and that no Court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right."[52] This is not, however, an explanation of the First Amendment. It is a conclusion. The logic behind it was deduced from precedent. Holmes never addressed the core of the constitutional issue as it related to the First Amendment.

The interpretation offered here of Holmes' judicial reasoning in *Schenck* suggests the justice's conclusions were based on deduction from case law precedent, statutory interpretation, and the record of trial testimony and physical evidence. The chart below summarizes the deductions that Holmes appeared to make.

Assumption – Conclusion	*Legal Methodology*
A. Baer and Schenck were responsible for certain words.	A. Testimony and physical evidence.
B. Defendants intended the words to have a certain effect.	B. Testimony and physical evidence.
C. Words intended to have an effect or having an effect are acts rather than speech.	C. Case law precedent.
D. Defendants' words were acts rather than speech.	D. Deduced from A, B, and C.

E. Espionage Act prohibits certain acts.	E. Statutory interpretation.
F. First Amendment does not prohibit Congress from outlawing certain acts.	F. Constitutional interpretation.
G. Defendants' words were an act prohibited by law.	G. Deduced from A, B, C, D, E and F.
H. Therefore, defendants' words were prohibited by Espionage Act.	H. Deduced from A, B, C, D, E, F and G.
I. Therefore, some words deserve no First Amendment protection.	I. Deduced from G.

The First Amendment. The First Amendment had little if any importance in deciding the evidentiary issues in *Schenck*. But the constitutional prohibition against interfering with speech was at the heart of the defendants' defense strategy. Unfortunately for Baer and Schenck, their attorneys presented weak arguments. Gibbons and Nelson substituted political rhetoric and generalities for substantive legal doctrine and established precedent. "If all opponents of war," the attorneys said,

> are suppressed and all advocates of war are given free rein, is it not conceivable that a peace-loving president might be prevented from making an early, honorable peace, founded on justice! How can the citizens find out whether a war is just or unjust unless there is free and full discussion![53]

The defendant's question was ideological and its rhetorical nature made it incapable of eliciting a substantive legal response. Nevertheless, the attorneys continued their First Amendment probe. "Are we Americans big enough to allow honest criticism of the majority by the minority! In days gone by it was held criminal to talk against flogging in the army; nowadays it is generally considered criminal to talk against Wall Street."[54] Each query was followed by an exclamation point rather than a question mark.

Finally, Gibbons and Nelson postulated what they saw as a judicial test to determine the limits of First Amendment protection.

> It would seem that the fair test of protection by the constitutional guarantee of free speech is whether expression is made with sincere purpose to communicate honest opinion or belief, or whether it masks a primary intent to incite to forbidden action, or whether it does, in fact, incite to forbidden action.[55]

The proposed test, like the other arguments the defense presented, offered little protection from the Espionage Act. Here the defense seemed to admit that the "intent to incite to forbidden action" was sufficient grounds to nullify

First Amendment protections. Yet before the attorneys wrote their test, the trial court had ruled that Baer and Schenck were trying to convince draft-age men to refuse the draft – clearly an intent to incite to forbidden action.

Holmes never mentioned the attorneys' "test" in his opinion. Instead, the justice developed his own question. If the "tendency of the circular" was in fact to obstruct the draft, was the circular still "protected by the First Amendment to the Constitution?"[56]

Holmes gave no ground. Referring for the first time directly to the First Amendment, Holmes said, "It well may be that the prohibition of laws abridging the freedom of speech is not confined to previous restraints, although to prevent them may have been the main purpose, as intimated in *Patterson v. Colorado*.[57] The sentence is a contradiction and does nothing to illuminate the meaning of the First Amendment. On the one hand Holmes admits that the Framers' "main purpose" may have been to prohibit prior restraints on speech, a conclusion he reached twelve years earlier in *Patterson v. Colorado*. In the same breath, however, Holmes suggested "the prohibition of laws abridging freedom of speech is not confined to previous restraints." It cannot be both ways. Yet Holmes quit there and provided no further discussion relevant to the legal definition of the First Amendment. In context, it appears that Holmes, more than addressing the First Amendment, was actually responding to a somewhat disjointed portion of the defense brief. Gibbons and Nelson had argued that "In general, our courts have held that the free speech and free press amendment applies to freedom from interference 'before' publication. The Espionage Act only imposes punishment 'after' publication."[58] The point was a strange one for the defense to raise since Baer and Schenck were indeed being punished after publication, not before. The defense may have hoped to create a new theory of First Amendment application. Gibbons and Nelson asked:

> But how can a speaker or writer be said to be free to discuss the actions of the Government if twenty years in prison stares him in the face if he makes a mistake and says too much? Severe punishment for sedition will not stop political discussion as effectively as censorship.[59]

Holmes did not answer the defendants' question. At best, the justice's reference to *Patterson* acknowledged the query – hardly a signal that the authoritative meaning of the First Amendment was "the seriousness of the real defense" Holmes promised to address. The conclusion to be reached is that Holmes gave little serious consideration in *Schenck* to the First Amendment. Support for this interpretation comes not only from Holmes' relative lack of direct reference to the amendment in his opinion, but also from Holmes' statement a few weeks later to Sir Edward Pollock. "There was a lot of jaw about free speech," Holmes said, "which I wrote about somewhat summarily."[60]

In essence, Holmes reached a conclusion that had a direct bearing upon the First Amendment without providing a serious discussion of the First Amendment prohibition against the abridgement of speech. Holmes never explained *why* the First Amendment allows speech to be abridged. He only

explained *when* speech may be abridged. Everything else was non-First Amendment interpretation.

The effect of Holmes' conclusion, nevertheless, was not a congressional license to abridge speech. Holmes said, in essence, that Congress could prohibit an *act* that occurred in the guise of speech. What Holmes did not take into account was that in abridging such acts, Congress automaticaly inerferes with speech because the abridged acts are speech.

The Act, Tendency and Intent. Justice Holmes was satisfied that words that in fact obstructed military enlistment were proscribed by the Espionage Act. "It seems to be admitted," Holmes wrote, "that if an actual obstruction of the military service were proved, liability for words that produced that effect might be enforced."[61] This was not a First Amendment inerpretation, but a reading of the statute that assigned liability for words producing an effect. Holmes continued on this tract. It did not even matter whether the words in question actually had an effect. "If the act, (speaking, or circulating a paper) its tendency and the inent with which it is done are the same, we perceive no ground for saying that success alone warrants making the act a crime."[62]

The idea was not a new one. Holmes cited *Goldman v. United States* for support, a two-year-old case that had emphasized the legal doctrine that the intent to commit a crime is punishable whether or not the intended illegal act is carried to fruition.[63] Again the justice found his legal reasoning in case law and could avoid the need to directly interpret the Constitution. Again, *Goldman*, like *Aikens*, provided precedent for *Schenck* from a case devoid of First Amendment issues. In essence, *Goldman* was a conspiracy case in which Chief Justice Edward White reiterated the well-established legal principle that a conspiracy to commit a crime "is in and of itself inherently and substantively a crime punishable as such irrespective of whether the result of the conspiracy has been to accomplish the illegal end."[64]

Holmes' original justification in *Schenck* for excluding certain words from First Amendment protection, however, was that the words might have "all the effect of force."[65] The assumption was that words with the effect of force inherently became an act in the eyes of the law. Yet now Holmes borrowed a general legal principle from *Goldman* and stated, "there was no ground for saying that success alone warrants making the act a crime." If the intended effect of the words was unsuccessful, then the only way to continue to perceive the words an an *act* was to focus on the defendants' intent rather than on the effect of the words. It is one thing to say that a conspiracy to commit a crime is a crime whether or not the conspiracy is successful, and quite another to extend that logic to the premise that words are an act whether or not the words produce their intended effect. Yet that is precisely the logic Holmes carried from *Goldman* to *Schenck* and it appears to be an admission by Holmes that Schenck's circulars did not have the force of "a man falsely shouting fire in a theater and causing a panic."[66] No substantive proof was offered in *Schenck* that the character of the circular and the circumstances in which it was published created a "clear and present danger that (would) bring about the substantive evils that Congress had a right to prevent."[67] Substantive evils are an effect. Holmes' logic in *Schenck* was based on the premise that the *speech* in question was an act, and the inherent deduction that speech that is an act may be punished. Holmes' judicial logic is greatly

persons " were criticizing his Espionage Act decisions, insinuating that a defendant such as Schenck lost in the Court "because he was a dangerous agitator and that obstructing the draft was just a pretense."[11] But Holmes hardly appeared to believe Schenck and others prosecuted under the Espionage Act were truly "dangerous agitators." He wrote to Pollock that April,

> Now I hope the President will pardon him and some other poor devils with whom I have more sympathy. Those whose cases who have come before us have seemed poor fools whom I should be inclined to pass over if I could. The greatest bores in the world are the come-outers who are cock-sure of a dozen nostrums. The dogmatism of a little education is hopeless.[12]

The crime in the Espionage Act cases, at least in Holmes' mind, was obstruction of the draft, a deed punishable under the Act, and the defendants were punished for violating the act, not for voicing their opinions. "There was a lot of jaw about freedom of speech," Holmes told Pollock, "which I dealt with somewhat summarily in an earlier case – *Schenck v. U. S.* ...and *Frohwerk v. U. S.*...As it happens I should go further probably than the majority in favor of it, and I daresay that it was partly on that account that the C. J. assigned the cases to me.[13]

Holmes apeared to be telling his friend Pollock that the First Amendment was a false issue in the Espionage Act decisions. The cases were based on the commission of a criminal act proscribed by Congress. Free speech was simply dealt with "summarily."

Holmes was troubled philosophically about the free speech element in the Espionage Act cases, but he was convinced that he must be guided in his decisions by a rule of law rather that a free speech philosophy. Writing to Laski about *Schenck* and other Espionage Act cases, Holmes said, "I greatly regretted having to write them – and (between ourselves) that the Government pressed them to a hearing."[14] Once pressed, however, Holmes saw his judicial duty. "But on the only question before us," Holmes told Laski, "I could not doubt about the law. The federal judges seem to me (again between ourselves) to have got hysterical about the war. I should think the President when he gets through with his present amusements might do some pardoning."[15]

Laski replied two days later, "The point, I take it, is that to act otherwise would be to simply substitute judicial discretion for executive indiscretion with the presumption of knowledge against you. I think that you would agree that none of the accused ought to have been prosecuted; but since they have been and the statute is there, the only remedy lies in the field of pardon."[16]

Holmes wrote a similar justification for his Espionage Act case decisions to scholar Herbert Croly. "I cannot doubt," Holmes said, "that there was evidence warranting a conviction on the disputed issue of fact. Moreover I think the *causes under consideration* not only were constitutional but were proper enough while the war was on."[17] (Holmes' emphasis.) Holmes told Croly that generally he favored "aeration of all effervescing convictions – there is no way so quick for letting them get flat."[18] Nevertheless, Congress

pp. 61-62 missing

had the right to prevent certain actions whether they were accomplished "by persuasion" or "by force."[19]

Holmes' letter to Croly was consistent with his jurisprudential approach. Sixteen years earlier in *Northern Securities Company v. United States*, Holmes wrote, "the statute must be construed in such a way as not merely to save its constitutionality but, so far as is consistent with a fair interpretation, not to raise grave doubts on that score."[20] In *Schenck*, the letter suggests, Holmes read the Espionage Act narrowly and found the "clauses under consideration" were constitutional. With the constitutional issue settled, the central question was whether "there was evidence warranting a conviction on the disputed issue of fact." The letter also suggests, however, that Holmes was not convinced that there was a real danger in the speech that led eventually to the prosecution under the Espionage Act. Nevertheless, even if such speech usually went "flat," the dedendants' expressions were part of an action outlawed by Congress.

Justice Holmes operated under the tenet that his judicial duty required him to uphold the law, even if the specific law in question was not to his liking. His Espionage Act decisions in no way contradict this. Holmes summed up his jurisprudence well in a 1916 letter to Laski:

> The scope of state soverignty is a question of fact. It asserts itself as omnipotent in the sense that what it sees fit to order it will make you obey. You may very well argue that it ought not to order certain things, and I agree. But if the government does see fit to order them...I conceive that order as much law as any other – not merely from the point of view of the Court, which of course will obey it, but from any other rational point of view – if as would be the case, the government had the physical power to enforce its command. Law also as well as sovereignty is a fact.[21]

It is clear from his letters that Justice Holmes was aware of certain First Amendment considerations throughout the *Schenck* proceeding. But to what extent the First Amendment shaped the *Schenck* decision, and exactly what rule of law Holmes turned to remains to be discussed.

Holmes Opinion

Justice Holmes' entire *Schenck* opinion required just over 1,500 words. He began with a summary of the indictments against Elizabeth Baer and Charles Schenck. The lower court found them guilty of conspiracy to commit an offense against the United States, and unlawful use of the mail.[22] The defendants, Holmes wrote, "set up the First Amendment to the Constitution forbidding Congress to make any law abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, and bringing the case here on that ground have argued some other points of which we must dispose."[23] The defendants' "other points" constituted about one-half of Holmes' opinion in which the justice addressed three non-First Amendment questions. Was there sufficient evidence to prove that Baer and Schenck conspired to violate the Espionage Act? Was the evidence seized under a search warrant admissable in the court? Did the circulars in question actually constitute the commission of an illegal act? Each

and out of government, who were engaging in the grand old American hunt for 'un-Americans.'" Nat Hentoff, *The First Freedom: The Tumultuous History of Free Speech in America* (New York, 1980), p. 99.

Legal historian Lawrence Friedman is representative in his description of the period. Friedman stated, "A corpus law about free speech was seriously constructed in the period of and after the First World War." Lawrence M. Friedman, *A History of American Law* (New York, 1973), p. 578.

Journalism law texts, such as Marc Franklin's *The First Amendment and the Fourth Estate*, reflect the same notion that *Schenck* and other Espionage Act cases pivoted on First Amendment considerations. Franklin stated, "The beginning of serious awareness of First Amendment issues coincided with the litigation provoked by the Espionage Act of 1917 and related state statutes designed to unify the nation during and after World War I. Marc Franklin, *The First Amendment and the Fourth Estate* (Mineola, N. Y., 1977), p. 66.

[7]See William O. Douglas, *The Court Years, 1939-1975* (New York, 1981), pp. 93-94.

[8]See footnote 5, above.

[9]See, generally, Margaret A. Blanchard, "Filling the Void: Speech and Press in State Courts Prior to *Gitlow*," *The First Amendment Reconsidered* Bill Chamberlain and Charlene Brown, eds. (New York, 1982), pp. 14-59.

[10]Holmes to Laski, February 28, 1919. In Mark DeWolfe Howe, ed., *Holmes-Laski Letters* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), p. 7.

[11]Holmes to Pollock, April 5, 1919. In Mark DeWolfe Howe, ed., *Holmes-Pollock Letters*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), p. 7.

[12]Holmes to Pollock, April 27, 1919, *Ibid.*, p. 11. The "him" in the sentence referred to Debs. Charles Schenck and Elizabeth Baer were those Holmes referred to as "some other poor devils."

[13]Holmes to Pollock, April 5, 1919, *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[14]Holmes to Laski, March 16, 1919, in Howe, *Holmes-Laski Letters*, p. 190.

[15]Holmes to Laski, March 16, 1919, *Ibid.*

[16]Laski to Holmes, March 18, 1919, *Ibid.*, p. 191.

[17]Holmes never mailed the letter to Croly, but instead mailed it to Laski with the following explanation: "Yesterday I wrote the within and decided not to send it as some themes may be burning. Instead I entrust it confidentially to you and it will answer your inquiry about Freund. I thought it poor stuff – for reasons within." Holmes to Laski, May 13, 1919. Ibid., p. 2020. The Croly letter is dated May 12, 1919.

[18]*Ibid.*, p. 204.

[19]*Ibid.*

[20]*Northern Securities Company v. United States*, 193 U.S. 197, 402 (1904).

[21]Holmes to Laski, September 15, 1916, in Howe, *Holmes-Laski Letters*, p. 21.

[22]*Schenck v. United States*, 249 U.S. 47, 48-49.

[23]*Ibid.*, p. 49.

[24]*Ibid.*, p. 50.

[25]*Ibid.*, p. 49.

[26]*Ibid.*, p. 50.

[27]*Ibid.*

[28]*Ibid.*

[29]*Ibid.*

[30]Henry J. Gibbons and Henry John Nelson, "Brief of the Plaintiffs-in-Error," *Landmark Briefs and Arguments of the Supreme Court of the United States: Constitutional Law*, vol. 18 (Arlington, Va, 1975), p. 1018.

[31]*Schenck v. United States*, 249 U.S. 47, 50.

[32]*Ibid.*, p. 49.

[33]*Ibid.*, p. 51.

[34]*Ibid.*

[35]*Ibid.*

[36]Gibbons and Nelson, "Brief of Plaintiffs-in-Error," pp. 1018-19.

[37]Oliver Wendell Holmes, "The Path of the Law," *Harvard Law Review* 10 (March 25, 1897), p. 462. Originally delivered as an address at Boston University School of Law on Jan. 8, 1897.

[38]Holmes to Laski, Sept. 15, 1916. In Howe, *Holmes-Laski Letters*, p. 21.

[39]Gibbons and Nelson, *Briefs of Plaintiffs-in-Error*, p. 995.

[40]*Ibid.*

[41]*Ibid.*

[42]*Schenck v. United States*, 249 U.S. 47, 52.

[43]*Ibid.*

[44]*Aikens v. Wisconsin*, 195 U.S. 194 (1904).

[45]Wisconsin Stat. 1898, sec. 4466a.

[46]See, generally, Grant Gilmore, *The Ages of American Law* (New Haven, 1977).

[47]*Aikens v. Wisconsin*, 195 U.S. 194, 205-06.

[48]*Schenck v. United States*, 249 U.S. 47, 52.

[49]*Gompers v. Buck Stove and Range Co.*, 221 U.S. 418 (1910).

[50]*Ibid.*, p. 439.

[51]*Ibid.*, p. 437.

[52]*Schenck v. United States*, 249 U.S. 47, 52.

[53]Gibbons v. Nelson, "Brief of the Plaintiffs-in-Error", p. 996.

[54]*Ibid.*

[55]*Ibid.*, p. 1002.

[56]*Schenck v. United States*, 249 U.S. 47, 51.

[57]*Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

[58]Gibbons and Nelson, "Brief of the Plaintiffs-in-Error," p. 993.

[59]*Ibid.*, p. 994.

[60]Holmes to Pollock, April 5, 1919, in Howe, *Holmes-Pollock Letters*, vol. 2, p. 7.

[61]*Schenck v. United States*, 249 U.S. 47, 52.

[62]*Ibid.*

[63]Goldman v. United States, 245, U.S. 474 (1917).

[64]*Ibid.*, p. 447.

[65]*Schenck v. United States*, 249 U.S. 47, 52.

[66]*Ibid.*, p. 52.

[67]*Ibid.*

[68]*Ibid.*

[69]*Ibid.*, p. 53.

[70]*Ibid.*

Ke Alaka'i: The Leadership Role of the Honolulu *Star-Bulletin* in the Hawaiian Statehood Movement

By Alf Pratte

Although it has been nearly twenty-five years since Alaska and Hawaii were admitted to the union as the forty-ninth and fiftieth states, the subject of statehood had reappeared as a topic of political,[1] legal,[2] and popular[3] discussion in the press as well as the United States Congress. An amendment to the United States Constitutiton being considered by state legislatures will grant voting representation to the District of Columbia if approved. Puerto Rico, Guam and the Virgin Islands continue to consider statehood as one of the alternatives for ongoing association with the United States.[4] In addition, a number of proposals, including statehood, have been forwarded concerning the status of Amercian possessions or trusteeships throughout the Pacific.[5] One of the proposals would create a state from the Navajo nation.[6]

In the past, many of the studies of statehood have focused on the economic, political and legal arguments and strategy and personalities surrounding the complex process through which an American possession evolves to become part of the union.[7] The same is true of Hawaii, which in 1959 became the first non-contiguous territory to be accepted as part of the United States. A number of names and institutions have been associated with the struggle for "mokuaina" (the Polynesian word for full sovereignty as a state) from the time of King Kamehameha III in 1854 to John A. Burns who was Hawaii's non-voting delegate in the House of Representatives when President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed the statehood bill. A leading Honolulu newspaper once estimated that thousands of persons participated in the battle for statehood.[8] But four names consistently and continuously for more than half of the hundred-year-long statehood odyssey. All were journalists: Wallace Rider Farrington, Joseph R. Farrington, Elizabeth Pruett Farrington and Riley H. Allen. The vehicle through which they worked to achieve their shared goal was a newspaper – the Honolulu *Star-Bulletin*.

Purpose of Study. The purpose of this study is to describe the role of the Honolulu *Star-Bulletin* as a leader in the Hawaiian statehood movement from

ALF PRATTE (Ph. D., American Studies, University of Hawaii) is associate professor of communication at Brigham Young University. As a professional journalist he worked on the Honolulu *Star-Bulletin* and from 1969 to 1978 served as administrative assistant to the Senate Minority Office in the Hawaii State Legislature.

the time of its founding in 1912 until statehood was granted in 1959. But even before 1912, the *Star-Bulletin*'s vice-president and general manager, Wallace Farrington, promoted the statehood movement as editor of *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser* and the *Evening Bulletin*. After the death of Wallace Farrington in 1933, his son, Joseph, took a leadership role in the movement and used the *Star-Bulletin* to highlight statehood both in Hawaii and in Washington where he served in the House of Representatives from 1942-1954. Following his death, Joseph Farrington's wife Elizabeth became president of the *Star-Bulletin* and a delegate to the U.S. House where she served until defeated by John A. Burns in 1956.

This study describes the campaign conducted by the Farrington family through its newspaper to control and direct news and editorial opinion in order to educate and convince the general population and key decision makers of the advantages of statehood and other democratic ideals. The native Hawaiian word for this is "Ke Alakai'i" (The Leader.) This is a study of newspaper leadership and its effects on a developing frontier community. It is an effort to describe a newspaper which, in the words of the French observer Alexis DeTocqueville, has "taken up a great notion and which serves as a beacon for wandering minds."[9]

Methodology

For those interested in relating similar social, political or civil rights movements in the last quarter of the twentieth century to the Hawaiian statehood movement, a study of the public and private files of the Farrington family[10] and public correspondence of the Riley H. Allen[11] will prove valuable. Interviews with staff writers, editors and political leaders provide additional historic data and information on journalistic technique. The study reveals the *Star-Bulletin* as a model of social control[12] and journalistic leadership. Further evidence of the commitment and dedication to this objective can be seen in the unpublished biography of Wallace Farrington in the Hawaii State Archives.

In addition to the commitment and skill of its owners, editors and staff in crystallizing and organizing public opinion, the *Star-Bulletin* demonstrated unusual influence through its capacity to set goals.[13] The publication was also able to control the public space[14] or agenda as well as encourage other public and private decision makers on the mainland and in Hawaii to behave differently than they would have otherwise.

Statehood, NOT Political Predestination

One of the reasons for the success of the *Star-Bulletin* as a leader in the Hawaiian statehood movement was because the foundations of American institutions were already established in the islands before the arrival of Wallace Rider Farrington in 1894. A native of Maine and former reporter in New England and New York City, Farrington was able to promote annexation and eventually, statehood, from a position of strength because the native Hawaiian monarchy had been overthrown in 1893 and a provisional government and later a republic patterned after the American form of government had been established. Further, Hawaii had a constitution and a

representative legislature. Even before the ousting of Queen Liliuokalani, the Hawaiian islands had developed strong religious and cultural ties with the United States through the persistent efforts of the Congregational missionaries and other Christian denominations. As early as 1854, King Kamehameha III negotiated a treaty with President Franklin Pierce which would have incorporated the islands into the American union, not as a territory, but as a "state with perfect equality with the other states."

The isolation of the Hawaiian islands and the small size of the community served by the newspapers before the arrival of Wallace Farrington in 1894 and the consistency of purpose of Farrington's publications from that date also helped to determine the *Star-Bulletin*'s leadership. Wilbur Schramm has explained that the smaller the city or communication units, the more likely it is to reflect the policy of one man or a few men. Honolulu was not a metropolis. In 1896, Honolulu's population was 30,000 or 27 percent of the island territory; in 1920, the population was 83,000 or one-third of the island territory; and in the decade before statehood, 250,000, or half of the population of the territory. Because of the paper's territory-wide circulation it was always in a position of potential influence. The Farrington family also controlled the Hilo *Tribune-Herald*, a progressive newspaper which supported statehood on the state's most populated island next to Oahu.

Although is is difficult to show any direct influence or cause-effect relationship between Hawaiian statehood and the leadership of the *Star-Bulletin*, there is ample evidence that the publication was a respected and popular community opinion leader. Part of this was the result of Hawaii's isolated geography. The development of the *Star-Bulletin* as an opinion maker also grew out of the lack of alternative newspapers which dwindled in the twentieth century. The residents of Hawaii did not have radio until the mid-1920s. Television did not come until the 1950s. The people of Hawaii had to rely on newspapers for information. Further, the printed word permits its audience to set its own pace, allows for repeated exposure and for treatment at any length. This was particularly valuable for the statehood cause because Hawaii's multi-racial and multi-lingual population used the newspaper as an aid to assist them in learning the English language and other American values.

Statehood for Hawaii, however, was not a matter of "political predestination." Throughout its history, there was always the chance that the people of Hawaii might choose a different political status ranging from independent nation to commonwealth. The opportunities for closer ties with other nations were reduced, however, by varied American private and public interests, including the press, which combined to draw the Hawaiian islands into a closer relationship with the United States. The catalyst stimulating the transition was the Farringtons and their newspaper.

Leadership of Wallace Farrington

A study of his early editorials, written during his tenure as editor of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, underscores Farrington's belief that he could do much to change, through the power of the press, the environment in which he lived.

Although he was raised in a relatively conservative home as the youngest of six children of the principal of the State College of Maine, Farrington grew up

in what he would later describe as "the rough and tumble world of journalism." As a reporter for newspapers in Bangor, Lewiston, Kennebec and New York City, Farrington was exposed to and part of the Progressive movement sweeping the country. Farrington said that his upbringing in Maine had made him extremely conscious of the disparities among social and ethnic groups and he was determined to do all he could to break down such barriers through the power of the press. "About once in so often, people become possessed of the idea that the world can be reformed through the medium of a newspaper," he editorialized in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* April 30, 1895, shortly after he arrived in Hawaii.

In addition to his feeling of the efficacy of the press and the fact that he would serve as the editor of three newspapers (the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, the Honolulu *Evening Bulletin*, and the *Star-Bulletin*) until his death in 1933, Wallace Farrington was driven by the long-range goal of statehood which he editorially predicted on February 16, 1903, would be the natural development of local self-government. As a means of encouraging Hawaii's multi-racial population to achieve local self-government, Farrington's publications became major advocates of public educaton for all of Hawaii's people.

Because of the frustrating length of the statehood movement, commitment and motivation were essential characteristics of its leaders. Wallace Farrington did not yield to early pressure from the owners of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* who urged him to take a more moderate appproach in seeking annexation. Farrington left Hawaii for a short period when he could no longer agree with policy he opposed. After allowing the *Star-Bulletin* to be used to oppose statehood and other progressive causes for a brief period during the World War I Japanese scare, in 1923 Farrington recommitted "every move I make to rendering service to the people in hastening the day when Hawaii shall be considered ready for full statehood." In a speech to the Honolulu Social Science Association in 1929, he chastized community leaders for becoming timid or conservative in supporting statehood after helping to pioneer annexation. Farrington was to become most effective as a prominent businessman and member of the so-called establishment, who used the *Star-Bulletin* to nudge the establishment in many liberal causes.[15] The "nudging" process was most obvious in dealing with statehood, an objective which was compared to heaven – a state devoutly to be wished, but to be earnestly avoided for as long as possible.[16]

Farrington's influence was not confined to the decision makers and general population in Hawaii, however. As a well-known journalist and community leader, Farrington also cultivated many friends and journalists on the mainland which he made a practice to visit annually.

Among the best-known of a long line of Farrington's press friends was Cyrus H. K. Curtis, who had been friends with Farrington in Maine and who had also started on a small newspaper. Later Curtis became head of the Curtis Publishing Company, publisher of the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Country Gentleman* and *Ladies Home Journal* in the magazine field, and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *Public Ledger* and *Evening Bulletin Ledger*, and New York *Evening Post*. Farrington's daughter-in-law later said that the Curtis publications united to support statehood after she and her husband had

persuaded Cyrus Curtis about the advantages of statehood while spending ten days at his estate as part of their honeymoon in 1920.[17]

The most influential journalist whose friendship Farrington sought and cultivated was Warren G. Harding who came to Hawaii in 1915 as junior senator from Ohio. During his stay in Honolulu, Harding formed the habit of dropping in to the *Star-Bulletin* office each day to read press dispatches and talk with Farrington about national and international events. As president of the Ad Club of Hawaii, Farrington invited Harding to speak to the group and one time casually noted that the Ohio senator might someday be elected "president of the United States." Harding and Farrington remained close associates, and in 1921, President Harding announced the appointment of Farrington as Governor of the Territory of Hawaii. It was a position to which Farrington was reappointed during the administration of President Calvin Coolidge. Farrington served until 1929. During the first months of his last term, Farrington helped focus national attention on Hawaii as he was able to get the editors of *Time* to use the islands as the focus of a cover story July 25, 1927.

As the governor of a highly centralized Amercian territory from 1921-29, Wallace Farrington used his executive position to great influence in the Pacific and in Washington, D.C. Like the chief executive of the United States, Farrington had power to persuade others to be cordial to the concept of statehood through his professional reputation and the prestige of his office. Letters in the Wallace Farrington file of the Hawaii State Archives show the ongoing efforts by Farrington not only to keep Harding appraised of the statehood movement but to inform President Calvin Coolidge, Senator Carl Hayden and other prominent leaders in Washington of the value of statehood. Further, Farrington fostered the statehood cause by strengthening Hawaii's Bill of Rights and Declaration of Rights through the Hawaii legislature. Lawrence Fuchs credits Farrington with being one of the founders of the public education system in Hawaii. Farrington has also been described as the father of the University of Hawaii.[18] The high esteem of the *Star-Bulletin* publisher is evident today in a high school, University building, Honolulu city street and major highway, all of which bear his name.

Notwithstanding his influence and progress toward statehood during eight years as governor, Farrington was anxious to return to private life and his newspaper. He turned down the opportunity for appointment to a third term as well as an offer to be named Governor of the Phillipines. Farrington preferred instead the educational power of his newspaper. His feelings were best captured by his friend Walter Williams, dean of the School of Journalism at the University of Missouri, who wrote Farrington in 1929 to congratulate him on his decision to retire from the Governorship. Wrote Williams, "You have made a distiniguished record as Governor but why so good a governor should wish to continue to waste his time governing when he might be governing governors passes my comprehension."[19]

Role of Riley Allen

Because of his increasing involvement in the business affairs of his newspapers and later becaue of government duties, Farrington delegated the day-to-day operations of the *Star-Bulletin* to an equally well-educated and

talented journalist who shared his vision of statehood as well as other human rights ideals and who would promote statehood tirelessly and consistently. The journalist was Riley H. Allen who had been a newsman in Chicago and in Seattle with the *Post-Intelligencer* before coming to the islands. Allen stated that in addition to having Farrington as a journalistic model he used William Allen White, the small-town Kansas newsman as an inspiration for the statehood goal. Allen's editorials, which always had statehood as the ultimate goal, included equal rights for Hawaii's citizens of all races; universal and integrated education (at a time when this was less than popular with the elements which controlled Hawaii's society); repeal of racial restrictions in U.S. immigrations laws which discriminated against Orientals; and respect for the law.[20]

The only departure from the *Star-Bulletin's* statehood crusade took place in the period 1918-1921 when Allen was in Siberia doing volunteer work with the American Red Cross. This occured under the tenure of two interim editors, Raymond McNally and George Nellist, and are the only deviations in the *Star-Bulletin's* statehood crusade. Two editorials opposing statehood were a "complete surprise" to Allen who later conjectured that Farrington had allowed the deviation and did not wish to interfere with McNally's freedom of expression.[21]

Many of the most prominent journalists in the world heard both Farrington and Allen speak in 1921 when the Press Congress of the World held its first convention in Honolulu. A steady stream of public opinion moulders continued to visit Hawaii, thus exposing the islands to hundreds of national and international reporters.

Allen kept two secretaries busy writing dozens of letters each week on the statehood cause. He complimented journalists who wrote favorable articles or editorials. He reprimanded or provided additional facts and information for those who did not support statehood. The *Star-Bulletin* also had some control over the content of news leaving the islands as it was the major source of news for the Associated Press. Farrington, Allen and other members of the *Star-Bulletin* staff would also meet with dozens of other editors at journalism and political conventions on the mainland.

Similarly, Allen dedicated much of his life to advancing statehood and other progressive causes in Hawaii. In addition to writing hundreds of news articles and editorials, Allen appeared before Congressional committees or prepared statements for other witnesses, and for the Farringtons. One secretary said she wrote about 100 letters per week for Allen relating to statehood. She also claimed that Allen used the statehood crusade as a compensation for a childless marriage.[22] Although the anecdote verges on the melodramatic, it does serve as an example of sincerity and dedication. Allen's life also has a historical precedent in the life of Joseph Pulitzer, the famous New York editor, who is said to have considered the editorials page of his New York *World* as one of his children.[23]

Joseph Farrington's Contributions

After the death of Wallace Farrington in 1933, his son Joseph Farrington said he became more "agitated" and "concerned" over the statehood movement both as a reporter for the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, as

managing editor of the *Star-Bulletin*, and as a Territorial representative. His wife recalled that although Joseph Farrington had been interested in statehood since he was a child attending Hawaii's exclusive Punahou school, his desire became more intense as a student at the University of Wisconsin where he was a roommate with Phillip LaFollette, son of the progressive U. S. Senator. The younger LaFollette served as the best man at the wedding of Farrington and the former Elizabeth Pruett, daughter of a missionary family that had labored in Japan. One of many anecdotes of the Farrington family's statehood drive is that on the night he proposed to his wife, Joseph Farrington explained that she might not see too much of him as he had committed himself to the statehood cause as a lifelong goal.[24]

During the two years that Farrington served in the Territorial Senate, he called upon the LaFollettes and other associates he had cultivated as a journalist to help Hawaii a number of times. One example is the call he made during the early 1930s when Hawaii received unfavorable national attention as a result of the Ala Moana or Massie rape case wherein the wife of a U. S. Navy officer claimed she had been sexually attacked by a group of young local men. The resulting trials engendered controversy throughout the islands and on the mainland where the Associated Press later listed the case as one of its top ten news stories in 1932, along with the kidnap and murder of the Lindbergh baby.[25] According to Farrington's wife, Hawaii might have very easily been placed under military rule except for the intervention of Senator LaFollette who took to the floor of the Senate in defense of the islands. LaFollete also enlisted the aid of influential Senators Borah and Vandenberg in defeating the Rankin bill which would have allowed Congressional appointment of a non-resident.

Joseph Farrington said LaFollette's aid came about as a result of "respect and affection for me" after he had sent an urgent wire.[26] Farrington further advanced the statehood cause as one of the leaders of the Republican party in Hawaii and later as a member of the Territorial Legislature. As a prominent member of the Senate, Farrington introduced legislation which started the Hawaii Equal Rights Commission. He also introduced the bill which placed a statehood referendum on the ballot following recommendations by the first of a number of Congressional committees which visited the islands before World War II.

Pearl Harbor Attack

The attack on Pearl Harbor and the use of the Hawaiian Islands as a staging area for the military in the Pacific increased the status of the Honolulu *Star-Bulletin* and its influence on mainlanders as well as the residents of Hawaii. The remarkable efforts of Allen to react to the sneak attack is demonstrated in the fact that the *Star-Bulletin* was able to gather the news and publish an edition even before the last Japanese planes had returned to the carriers northwest of Oahu. When *Star-Bulletin* owner Joseph Farrington phoned from his Alewa Heights home shortly after the attack had started to see what was happening at the newspaper office, Allen quickly informed him, "Everything is under control."

Publication of an issue during an enemy attack earned the *Star-Bulletin* added respect in the community. Farrington later claimed that some persons

who had actually seen the rising sun ensignia on the Japanese airplanes flying overhead doubted Oahu was being attacked and that there was a real war until they read it in the *Star-Bulletin*.[27] Author Walter Lord related the story of Japanese Consul General Kita who did not believe the report of the attack when the news was related by reporter Larry Nakatsuka on the doorsteps to the Nuuanu Valley Japanese Embassy. The persisting Nakatsuka returned later with a copy of the *Star-Bulletin* with its headline screaming "WAR!" If the newspaper wasn't adequate evidence, at least it might serve as a conversation piece.[28]

The *Star-Bulletin* continued to provide leadership in Hawaii during World War II. The paper raised ongoing opposition to military rule and censorship and supported Hawaii's Japanese-American population. At an early date, the *Star-Bulletin* warned of the threat to civil rights inherent in the continuance of military government after the December 7 attack. The *Star-Bulletin* position was in accord with the position of Joseph Farrington, the publisher, who had been elected a delegate to the U. S. Congress in November 1942. The opposition *Advertiser*, on the other hand, for the most part, stoutly defended the military regime, which course was dictated both by editorial preference as well as by the rivalry existing between the two newspapers.[29]

William Norwood, a former *Star-Bulletin* reporter, assigned to "review" newspaper copy for the military, recalled the consistent championing of Japanese-American loyalty to the United States by Allen and the *Star-Bulletin*. In contrast to the *Advertiser*, the *Star-Bulletin* had a strict editorial policy against using the word "Jap" in print throughout the war, notwithstanding the ease of such a short term in the creating of headlines. Farrington later said:

> I made the word "Jap" kapu (forbidden) as a matter of policy, and in announcing that policy that we were not going to fight a race war in the *Star-Bulletin*. It would have been dastardly in view of the fact that one-third of our population is Japanese.[30]

In contrast to such positions which have stood the test of time, the Honolulu *Advertiser* served as the public relations advisor to the "military governor." Farrington strongly objected to the phrase "military governor" in the pages of the *Star-Bulletin* out of concern that the word would become accepted and woven into the thinking of island residents.

Post World War II Statehood Battle

After the conclusion of World War II, Farrington once again resumed the drive in the U. S. Congress to have Hawaii admitted as a state. President Harry Truman's State of the Union message in 1946 marked the first time a U. S. president publicly endorsed statehood for Hawaii. The major opponents to statehood for Hawaii during the postwar years were the Southern Congressmen or Dixiecrats who opposed it on the grounds of the existence of communism in the islands or because statehood would mean two more liberal votes for civil rights legislation in the U. S. Senate. Still the *Star-Bulletin* kept up a barrage for statehood in its news columns and on the editorial pages. "Statehood is the destiny of Hawaii," Allen urged in 1947, just as it was the

destiny of all other territories incorporated into the union, "and the time has now arrived for her destiny to be fulfilled." Similar editorials as well as Farrington's public and private persuasion in Washington came in for high praise from his colleagues in Congress. Like his father before him, Farrington attracted nationwide attention to the statehood cause as the subject of a *Time* magazine cover story December 22, 1947.

The *Star-Bulletin* also received nationwide attention on April 17, 1953, when in response to charges of communism in Hawaii made by Senate Internal Security Subcommittee Chairman James O. Eastland, the *Star-Bulletin* printed one of the most famous front pages in Hawaii journalism history since the Pearl Harbor attack. The front page contained no news or photographs, only seven columns of the names of hundreds of men who had been killed or wounded fighting communism in the Korean War. The *Star-Bulletin* headlines spoke one of the sharpest rebukes to Eastland and others who had thwarted Hawaii's efforts to obtain statehood through the Congress: "Eastland calls Hawaii a 'Communist Community'; These died (348) or were wounded (902) fighting communism."

Notwithstanding such measures by his newspaper, Farrington continued to be frustrated by the Dixiecrats in the U. S. House as well as by health problems which had plagued him since he served in the field artillery in World War I. On Saturday June 21, 1954, Farrington died while working in his office in Washington.

In a nationally-syndicated column paying tribute to Farrington, Doris Fleeson took to task what she described as an apathetic Congress which she claimed had given lip service to Farrington's ideals and "wallowed in his wonderful hospitality" while frustrating his valiant efforts for statehood. "There are, of course, always reasons why the often-made pledges are not to be obtainable," she charged. "The politicians select reasons according to their party. But somehow in the end, nobody gets through on the issue." In another article on the death of the *Star-Bulletin* publisher, Washington correspondent Frank Hewlett wrote that doctors had advised Farrington that he was living on borrowed time after a serious heart attack 14 years previous. Farrington had already decided not to run for Congress and planned to return to Honolulu to get his personal affairs in order. A *Star-Bulletin* editorial described its former publisher as "a soldier who died at his post, literally dedicating his life to Hawaii, the Pacific and to the advancement of his country along the path of peace and democracy and service to all people."[31]

The opposition *Advertiser*, which had reluctantly come to endorse statehood after years of not favoring the movement, urged "a strong push toward statehood" as a tribute to Farrington. The changed policy was a far cry from the editorial printed by the opposition newspaper a few years before, arguing that Hawaii needed statehood "like a cat needs two tails." *Advertiser* circulation was dropping, however, and in a few years it would approach the *Star-Bulletin* with a proposal to enter into a joint operating agreement.

Betty Farrington's Contributions

With the death of her husband, the leadership for the statehood battle fell to Mrs. Elizabeth (Betty) Farrington, who was appointed to fill the vacancy in

the U. S. House of Representatives. A former journalist, Mrs. Farrington shared much of the same philosophy, training and commitment to the statehood cause as her husband. Following their marriage and graduation from the University of Wisconsin, the Farringtons did all they could as reporters in Philadelphia and Washington to enlist journalist associates in the statehood cause. Among the close friends Mrs. Farrington said she recruited were Irving Maier, publisher of the Milwaukee *Journal*, Owen Scott of *U. S. News and World Reports*, Doris Fleeson, Ruth Montgomery, May Craig and Paul Miller, of Associated Press, Frank Bartholomew of United Press and Jenkin Lloyd Jones. In short, Mrs. Farrington said, "We tried to make friends with all the Washington Press Corps."

A major means of attempting to influence friends in the media and politics was through social activities. "As a hostess, I considered myself a total failure unless everyone present had been converted to our cause before departing," she said.[32]

In addition to her social role in Washington, Mrs. Farrington kept up a steady barrage of letters and memoranda to editors and reporters in Honolulu advising staff members on how to help visiting journalists and political leaders obtain information in support of the statehood movement. Although there was no direct interference in the daily operations of the paper, all statehood stories were major news. One editor confirmed that there were absolutely no instructions on how to handle stories. "But everybody just knew."[33] Mrs. Farrington also became active in national party politics and was named president of the League of Republican Women. As evidence of her influence in Washington, she was selected as one of the Ten Most Influential Women in America by *McCall's* magazine in 1948.

Shortly after being named to fill her husband's seat, Mrs. Farrington met with President Dwight Eisenhower to "plead" with him to support statehood for Hawaii and Alaska as well as to recommend pro-statehood appointments for Hawaii.[34] Donald Dedmon says that like her husband before her, Mrs. Farrington was a fluent speaker and excellent debater of the statehood arguments in Congress. In ability to refute opposing arguments concerning statehood, Mrs. Farrington had few equals in debate.[35]

Despite the inroads she was making with the Republican president and the balky Democratic Congress in Washington and her guiding role with the family newspaper, Mrs. Farrington failed to keep her fingers on the political pulse of the Hawaiian islands which were undergoing economic, social and political change. Letters to Mrs. Farrington from Allen and the *Star-Bulletin* political editor advised that both the *Advertiser* and the Democratic party were making political inroads on the neighbor islands as well as Oahu and that Mrs. Farrington would be wise to spend more time campaigning for reelection than promoting statehood.[36] Notwithstanding such warnings and the ongoing support of the newspaper, Mrs. Farrington was soundly defeated in the 1956 Congressional race in which the Democrats took over major control of Hawaii's governing offices in the islands and in Washington. It was John A. Burns, a former *Star-Bulletin* switchboard operator and architect of the Democratic party revolution, who assumed the strategic leadership of the statehood movement in the U. S. Congress. Working in close concert with Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Baines Johnson, as well as other key

legislators, Burns was able to achieve the long-awaited legislative goal for the people of Hawaii. The achievement was accomplished through a careful "two-step" strategy which allowed Alaska to become a state before Hawaii.

Conclusions

As one of the most controversial measures in the U.S. legislative process, statehood requires a lengthy campaign of persistent information, explanation and development. In the Hawaiian statehood movement, a long-term educational process was necessary with extensive evidence being presented concerning the advantages of statehood. To promote and defend statehood, able leaders and spokespersons were needed both in Hawaii and in Washington. By virtue of the single-mindedness of the *Star-Bulletin* owners and key editors, and through its status as the major institution disseminating information and opinion and by controlling the public space, the campaign was successful. The newspaper and its owners set goals, organized, unified and persuaded Hawaii residents as well as decision makers that the Hawaiian islands and its people should be allowed to become an integral part of the United States.

In addition to serving as the major instrument providing news and opinion to the general population, the *Star-Bulletin* served as an important leader for the opinion leaders. Also, many of Hawaii's population who did not speak English were affected indirectly by the *Star-Bulletin* through others who read the paper and passed on its views.

By today's standards the *Star-Bulletin* was part of the hegemony, or "establishment;" it was a part that, in the words of A. A. Smyser, "kept nudging for a change." And it did so effectively. If the *Star-Bulletin* was anti-organized labor for a period, and tolerated a high degree of social exclusiveness, "it was nevertheless encouraging the corrective trends of education, universal franchise, and an open society."

Over a 57-year period, however, the *Star-Bulletin* contributed to the social progress of the Hawaiian islands in somewhat the same manner that Vernon Parrington, writing in *Main Currents in American Thought* says that the press contributed to American life. Although the *Star-Bulletin* may not have been a "liberal" publication, it had a "liberalizing" effect on the Hawaiian islands.

The historical role of the *Star-Bulletin* and the dedication of its owners and editors does not mean that the Farrington family and Riley Allen were without fault in their efforts to achieve statehood, or that they always responded rationally to the choices which faced them. They made mistakes and they made enemies as this study has shown. However, even the most partisan political opponents and journalists who opposed statehood or the Farringtons concede the leadership role of the *Star-Bulletin* in the statehood crusade.[37] Neither the Farringtons or Riley Allen spent their entire lives campaigning for statehood. But they did view statehood as a great historical crusade.

In a letter to *Star-Bulletin* editor Allen, May 26, 1960, Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton wrote:

If some future historian were to postulate theory but if for one man the achievement of Hawaiian statehood would have been only a dream, your name would necessarily be included in a very small and select list for final consideration and choice.

In the words of a Washington correspondent who covered the statehood movement for the *Star-Bulletin* for nine years, "...Let's just settle for Joe Farrington leading the Children of Israel (Hawaii's citizens) through the wilderness and Jack Burns taking them into the promised land."[38]

NOTES

[1]"Delegates to D.C. Statehood Convention Provide Contrasts in Styles and Approaches," Washington *Post*, March 5, 1982, p. c-1; "Controversy Over Giving the District of Columbia House and Senate Seats in the U.S. Congress. Pro and Con," *Congressional Digest*, Washington, D.C., Vol. 57: 10, October 1978: Joanne Omang, "Puerto Rico in Political Turmoil," Washington *Post*, Aug. 20, 1978, p. c-1, c-4.

[2]"Equal Citizenship, self-determination, and the U.S. Statehood Process: A Constitutional and Historical Analysis," *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law*, Spring, 1981, vol. 13, pp. 315-374; "Statehood and the Equal Footing Doctrine: The Case for Puerto Rican Seabed Rights," *Yale Law Journal*, March 1979, vol. 88, pp. 825-849; "The Emergence of the Micronesians into the International Community: a Study of the Creation of a New International Entity," *Brooklyn Journal of International Law*, Summer 1979, Vol. 5, pp. 207-261.

[3]"Puerto Rico's Drift Toward Statehood--and Dependence," *Fortune*, Aug. 13, 1979, vol. 100, pp. 163-165, 168, 171, 174, 176; "Bloody Statehood on the Horizon," *Mother Jones*, June 1980, vol. 5, pp. 48-52, 56-59; "New U.S. Lake in the Pacific," *Progressive*, May 1977, vol. 41, pp. 50-52; "Puerto Rico, the 51st State?," *New Republic*, July 2, 1977, vol. 177, pp. 12-14.

[4]"Puerto Rico's Political Future: A Divisive Issue with Many Dimensions," *Report to the Congress by the Comptroller General of the United States*, Washington 1981; Puerto Rico's Federal Relations Act: Establishment of a Constitution for the Virgin Islands and Guam, *Hearings, 94th Congress, 2nd session on S. 2998 and H.R. 9460 and H.R. 9491*, April 12, 1976; Experiences of Past Territories Can Assist Puerto Rico Status Deliberation, *Report to the Congress by the Comptroller General of the United States*, Washington, D.C., 1980.

[5]Territorial Policy, *Message Transmitting Proposals for a Comprehensive Federal Territorial Policy Toward Guam, the U.S. Virgin Islands, American Samoa, and the Northern Mariana Islands*, Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980. Also interview with Erwin D. Canham, June 4, 1979, Saipan, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. Mr. Canham, a former chief news executive of the *Christian Science Monitor*, also served as the resident commissioner of the Pacific Trust Territory. Mr. Canham was writing a book on the subject of relationships between U.S. interests in the Pacific and statehood status at the time of his death, Jan. 3, 1982.

[6]"The Navajo Nation Tomorrow--51st state, commonwealth or ...?" *American Indian Law Review*, vol. 5, Winter 1977.

[7]John A. Burns, "Statehood for Hawaii's People," State Government: *The Journal of State Affairs*, Summer 1959, vol. 32, no. 3; Charles H. Hunter, "Congress and Statehood for Hawaii," *World Affairs Quarterly*, January 1959, vol. 29, no. 4; Donald N. Dedmon, "An Analysis of Arguments of the Debate in Congress on the Admission of Hawaii to the

Union" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Iowa, 1961).

[8]Honolulu *Star-Bulletin*, Statehood edition, April 14, 1959, p. 1.

[9]Alexis DeTocqueville, *Democracy in America* (reprint, New York, 1971), pp. 186-187.

[10]Private and public files, Wallace R., Joseph and Elizabeth Farrington, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, Hawaii.

[11]The only letters remaining from Riley Allen are those sent to Joseph and Elizabeth Farrington which were retained as part of the Farrington's public records. All other correspondence from Allen was ordered destroyed after his death in October 1966.

[12]Warren Breed, "Social Control in the Newsroom," *Mass Communications* (Urbana, Ill., 1960), pp. 178-194.

[13]Jeffrey L. Pressman, "Preconditions of Mayoral Leadership," *American Political Science Review*, June 1972, vol. 66, no. 2, p. 521.

[14]Paul Weaver, "The New Journalism and the Old--Thoughts After Watergate," *The Public Interest*, Spring 1974, p. 67.

[15]A.A. Smyser, "Evolution of *Star-Bulletin* editorial policy," memorandum, Dec. 9, 1975. Mr. Smyser was editorial page editor for the Honolulu *Star-Bulletin* until his retirement in 1982.

[16]Stanley D. Porteus, *A Century of Social Thinking in Hawaii* (Palo Alto, Calif., 1962), p. 100.

[17]Interview, Elizabeth Farrington, Sept. 15, 1975.

[18]Lawrence H. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono: A Social History* (New York, 1961), pp. 779-780. See also David Kittelson, "History of Higher Education in Hawaii," Commentary, Honolulu *Advertiser*, April 8, 1975.

[19]Letter to Wallace Farrington from Walter Williams, Dean, School of Journalism, University of Missouri, April 5, 1929.

[20]Smyser, p. 4.

[21]Letter to Joseph Farrington, Jan. 12, 1949. Farrington file, Hawaii State Archives.

[22]Interviews, Mrs. Trinidad Peletier, May 11 and 18, 1976.

[23]Discussed by Joseph E. Wisan in "The Cuban Crisis as Reflected in the New York Press," in *American Imperialism in 1898*, edited by Theodore P. Greene, p. 44.

[24]Interview, Betty Farrington, Sept. 15, 1975.

[25]For additional reading on this see *Something Terrible Has Happened* by Peter Van Slingerland (New York, 1966), pp. 165-187. See also Fuchs, p. 189.

[26]Boyden Sparkes interview with Joseph Farrington, Washington, D.C., July 25, 1953. Farrington file, Hawaii State Archives.

[27]Farrington file, Hawaii State Archives. See also Alf Pratte, "Everything is Under Control," *Quill*, December, 1966.

[28]Walter Lord, *Day of Infamy* (New York, 1963), p. 171. Nakatsuka was also one of three Honolulu *Star-Bulletin* reporters who were to be awarded Nieman reporters. The other two included Pulitzer Prize winning Chicago *Sun-Times* Far East correspondent Keyes Beech and John B. Terry. All three took part in the *Star-Bulletin* crusade and attested to the leadership role and influence of the newspapers and its editors in attaining the objective.

[29]J. Garner Anthony, *Hawaii Under Military Rule* (Stanford, Calif., 1954), pp. 198-199. See also Jim A. Richstad, "The Press Under Martial Law: The Hawaiian Experience," *Journalism Monographs*, No. 17, November 1970.

[30]Joseph Farrington files, Pearl Harbor folder, Hawaii State Archives. Mrs. Trinidad Peltier, a secretary to Riley Allen, said in an interview May 11, 1976, that a group of staff members from the copy desk, including one of Japanese-American ancestry, petitioned editor Allen to permit them to use the word "Jap" to make headline writing easier. Allen refused.

[31]Honolulu *Star-Bulletin*, June 21, 1954.

[32]Interview, Elizabeth Farrington, Nov. 19, 1965.

[33]Interview, Edwin Edwards, April 20, 1976.

Mr. Edwards was a former copy editor and city editor for the *Star-Bulletin*.

[34]Mrs. Elizabeth Farrington letter to President Dwight Eisenhowr, Aug. 8, 1954. See also Hunter, , p. 369.

[35]Dedmon, p. 97.

[36]See letters to Elizabeth Farrington from Millard Purdy, May 29, 1956, and Riley Allen, June 6, 1956.

[37]Letter from U.S. Representative Spark M. Matsunaga, March 1976. Specific date not noted on letter. The author also interviewed U.S. Senator Daniel K. Inouye, Dan Aoki, Ed Rohrbaugh, Nadao Yoshinaga and other close associates of Delegate Burns in the statehood movement in the U.S. Congress.

[38]Frank Hewlett, letter to Alf Pratte, June 5, 1975.

The Professional Communicator as a Symbolic Figure

By John J. Pauly

For some time now the issue of professionalism has enlivened debates in journalism, advertising, and public relations. From the Progressive Era until just recently, professionalism has typically been seen as a new kind of socially responsible occupational style.[1] Journalists would now become interpreters of the world's great complexities, not merely hacks out on a junket or connivers out to hustle a juicy story.[2] Press agents and publicity men would become public relations counsels, communication advisers equal in status to a company's legal advisers.[3] Advertising copywriters would justify their activities as a form of scientific psychologizing on behalf of consumers' needs.[4] As with trends toward professionalism in other fields of American life, all these changes owed a great deal to the growing faith in efficiency, scientific method, and objectivity as solutions to social and political problems.[5]

Today the ideals of professionalism and objectivity seem somewhat tarnished. Scholars no longer feel compelled to celebrate the victory of professionalism over more primitive codes of behavior. Instead recent work has focused on how the values of professionals and the requirements of the organizations they serve have shaped the form and content of mass communication messages. In the study of news, for instance, dozens of studies have now documented the role that occupational values and organizational structure play in defining what news is and how it is to be portrayed.[6]

Yet it is not enough to clarify the conditions under which professional communicators originate messages. In American life the professional communicator, defined broadly as a *person who communicates for a living*, has played a wider public role as well. In a whole range of artistic media and genres, including fiction, sociology, Hollywood films, and journalistic exposes, Americans have used the professional communicator as a symbolic prop, a figure with which to comment on general changes in middle-class sensibilities and social styles.

JOHN J. PAULY (Ph. D., Communication, University of Illinois) is assistant professor of mass communication at the University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee. Articles he has authored have appeared in *Communication Research*, *Journalism Educator*, and *Journal of Business Communication*.

The very character of American life has made the professional communicator an apt symbol for this purpose. The United States long has been a country in which the old sentimental ties of class, tradition, and language group have been relatively weak and the rhetoric of individualism, expressed in a variety of forms, rather strong. Not surprisingly Americans have often posed the problem of bringing individuals together to act in common as a problem of communication.[7] In this context professional communicators have appeared as somewhat ambivalent characters. Their special skills at communication presumably draw the community together, yet the very slickness of those skills creates suspicion. In successive generations Americans have projected their lingering distrust onto a variety of professional communicators, from the booster selling town lots, to the traveling salesman peddling the wares of national manufacturers and urban department stores, to the public relations man promoting his corporation, to the ad man using subliminal manipulation, to the journalist painting the pictures in our heads. In each case, however, the professional communicator has served as a symbolic device with which Americans could talk about a social problem that goes far beyond the issue of professionalism alone: the sense of displacement and loss experienced as the small-scale, face-to-face communities that sustained an older conception of individualism gave way to large-scale, anonymous cities and bureaucratic organizations.

To exemplify Americans' use of the professional communicator as a symbolic figure, this present study will examine one such communicator – the advertising man – and one fairly narrow historical period – from World War II to the early 1960s. It will argue that much of what passed for criticism of advertising during that period also was an attempt to use the ad man to debate symbolically a number of perplexing issues, including the perceived loss of individualism in a mass society, the danger of psychological manipulation being used to bypass democratic debate, and the moral character of modern corporations and middle-class styles of life.

Criticism of Advertising as an Institution

Americans have long considered advertising a social problem. They have worried that advertising language debases common usage and public discourse, that advertising inflames the desire for trivial or useless products, that advertising is economically wasteful. All these criticisms reappeared in the 1950s, though with a somewhat darker aspect. In the wake of World War II's propaganda barrage, advertising looked to many Americans like a homegrown form of collectivism, a powerful socializing force that would homogenize all individual eccentricities and tastes. This fear, as in the years after World War I, followed in part from the very success of advertising during the war. The National Advertising Council, like the earlier Committee on Public Information, had put advertising to work in support of the war effort at home. After the war, businessmen, captivated by the idea of rebuilding private sector production, wanted to use advertising to stimulate consumption of their products.[8] Many Americans, however, feared that advertising, particularly that using devious psychological techniques, would be used to undermine their rational defenses and dictate their political as well as economic choices.

One of the best examples of this concern was the widespread discussion of motivational research during the 1950s. Too often we forget that today's academic tent-show operators like Wilson B. Key, with their arguments about advertising's power to seduce people through the quiet bombardment of the subconscious, are the wastrel nephews of slightly more respectable older social science researchers like Ernest Dichter in the 1950s. These older motivational researchers used a combination of word association, Thematic Apperception and sentence completion tests, depth interviews, conventional surveys, and psychoanalytic analysis to try to uncover the deep-seated, often unconscious motives that cause consumers to buy one product over another. (Predictably enough, motivational research roused the greatest interest among businesses that marketed nearly identical products, such as soap, gasoline, cigarettes, and food and beverages. Such advertising relied far more on image rather than quality or price differentiation.)[9]

Americans often reacted with resentment and suspicion to this intense scrutiny of their psyches and to advertisers' sneaky attempts to plant subliminal messages. The classic expression of this resentment, of course, was Vance Packard's *The Hidden Persuaders*, published in 1957. Packard warned that, "Something new, in fact, appears to be entering the pattern of American life, with the growing power of our persuaders," and that in the "probing and manipulating" of these researchers, "nothing is immune or sacred."[12] By seeming to identify all advertising research with the "depth approach" of the motivational researchers, Packard failed to recognize that advertising research often resembles a giant crap shoot, in which agencies use almost any data at hand to convince wealthy clients to stake millions of dollars on an idea that no one is absolutely sure will work. Such research lends itself to faddishness and fetishism, and motivational research eventually turned out to be just one more passing fancy. On the other hand, Packard correctly perceived advertisers' hope: that motivational reserach actually could give them the type of in-depth knowledge its promoters promised.

Packard's fear of manipulative advertising was in many respects part of a more general American concern in the 1950s with fraud, trickery, and manipulation. Wherever Americans turned, they seemed to find their institutions beset by deceit and corruption. For example, after the war white-collar crime began to receive much attention from both journalists and sociologists. Edwin Sutherland's 1949 study, *White Collar Crime*, was the first in a whole series of books to document the pervasiveness of monopolistic practices, rebates, misleading advertising, unfair labor practices, racketeering, embezzlement, stock manipulation, tax fraud, and bribery.[13] What was so shocking about this crime was that the people who committed it were not ignorant and unkempt lower-class delinquents, but solid middle-class citizens. As one observer described this new type of thief:

> Generally a member of the middle or upper class, he rarely has financial cause to steal. Often the product of a college education, he has been exposed to all the ethical values that western civilization holds dear. In many instances he has had a religious training that stresses the commandment: "Thou shalt not steal." Frequently he is the offspring of parents who are

> looked upon as hardworking, respected members of the community. Yet, despite his heritage and upbringing, he deliberately and consciously denies the very values upon which his existence is predicated. In the last decade he has become America's most resourceful and successful crook. He is the thief in the white collar.[14]

Students of white-collar crime generally argued that the chief problem with such crime was not that it cost so much but that it violated Americans' sense of mutual trust, lowered morale, and produced social disorganization. The paradox, as one writer pointed out, was that "the age of unparalleled abundance, of leisure, high investment profit and vast material expectation is leaving us with a sadly blunted conscience."[13]

Even worse, white-collar crime seemed particularly scandalous because it was not the work of isolated deviants but the apparently inevitable product of the modern organizations Americans had created. Sutherland, for example, observed that no line of work was exempt from white-collar crime. It had been found in "investigations of land offices, railways, insurance, munitions, banking, public utilities, stock exchanges, the petroleum industry, receiverships, bankruptcies, and politics."[14] He further observed that the corporate criminal bore more than a passing resemblance to the conventional professional thief – both were recidivists, both stole deliberately and systematically, both held the law and government in contempt, and both tended to suffer no loss in status among their associates when their criminal activities were made public.[15]

Americans often laid much of the blame for this climate of lawlessness on advertising, and ad men gained a reputation for insincerity, rapacity, and dishonesty that would have flattered even a Hollywood agent or studio mogul. Advertising misrepresentation was one of the more commonly debated forms of white-collar crime, and advertisers sometimes found themselves implicated in the most widely publicized frauds of the decade, such as the television quiz-show fixing and radio payola scandals of 1959. In advertising's attempt to appeal to the hidden well-springs of action, to craft cunning language that sidestepped reason and debate, many Americans detected a challenge to democratic dogma. One writer, for instance, condemned non-product institutional advertisements for "contributing to the process of substituting labels for rational argument, for subverting the democratic exchange of ideas by denouncing one's opponents rather than refuting his contentions."[16]

But the more common objection brought against advertising was that the institution itself helped create problems like white-collar fraud by encouraging envy and greed. As the historian David Potter observed in his influential *People of Plenty*, in a society of abundance, advertising "trains the individual for a role – the role of consumer – and it profoundly modifies his system of values, for it articulates the rationale of material values for him in the same way in which the church articulates a rationale of spiritual values."[17] One writer on white-collar crime cast the problem in even stronger terms:

> A tremendous amount of educated talent is devoted to convincing Americans that life cannot be bearable without the higher-quality dog food, the more influential magazine, the

> extra car—even, more recently, the extra house....Stress on sheer acquisition naturally makes people greedy, and greed is the beginning of a cheat.[18]

For Daniel Bell the ability to stimulate dissatisfaction made advertising and installment buying "the two most fearsome social inventions of man since the discovery of gunpowder."[19] To many such critics, advertising's encouragement of free spending and individual gratification rather than hard work and thrift directly challenged older Christian ideals. As an institution, advertising seemed to symbolize the corruption Americans increasingly found in all their institutions.

Criticism of the Ad Man

Besides its corrupting of society, Americans also feared that advertising was undermining the character of individual Americans. Citizens' susceptibility to advertising dramatized the apparent breakdown of older ideals of individual autonomy. While the conservative European critics who introduced the mass society argument in the 19th century often viewed middle-class individualism as the force that broke down the class and customary restrictions that had always allowed true culture to flourish, American critics have interpreted the growth of mass society as a loss of healthy individualism.[20] Many Americans in the 1950s identified the loss of individual creativity and independence with the growth of a stifling corporate life. William H. Whyte, for example, in his popular book *The Organization Man*, described the growth of an American brand of collectivism that he called the "Social Ethic":

> By socal ethic I mean that contemporary body of thought which makes morally legitimate the pressures of society against the individual. Its major propositions are three: a belief in the group as the source of creativity; a belief in "belongingness" as the ultimate need of the individual; and a belief in the applicaion of science to achieve the belongingness.[21]

Echoing earlier arguments such as Erich Fromm's in *Escape from Freedom*, Whyte pleaded for individuals not to seek a "spurious peace of mind" but to make true decisions and struggle for personal automony.

Whyte's was only one of a whole series of books in the 1940s and 1950s that argued that organizational life was whittling away American individualism. Erich Fromm's *Man for Himself*, C. Wright Mill's *White Collar*, and, above all, David Reisman's *The Lonely Crowd* were all part of the same genre: each portrayed a bureauctatic world that encouraged team spirit and conformity yet tangled its middle-class participants in a web of high-pressure competitive social relations, a world that compelled its participants to tailor their very personalities to the economic and organizational demands placed upon them. Fromm coined the term *marketing orientation* to describe the individual style that develops in modern bureaucracies as "clerks and salesmen, business executives and doctors, lawyers and artists" find themselves thrust into a "personality market." The result, Fromm said, is that

> Since modern man experiences himself both as the seller and as the commodity to be sold on the market, his self-esteem depends on conditions beyond his control. If he is "successful," he is valuable; if he is not, he is "worthless."[22]

Ultimately the marketing-oriented person "encounters his own powers as commodities alienated from him."

Mills followed much this same line of argument in attacking the "Great Salesroom" that modern life had become:

> The salesman's world has now become everybody's world, and, in some part, everybody has become a salesman. The enlarged market has become at once more impersonal and more intimate. What is there that does not pass through the market? Science and love, virtue and conscience, friendliness, carefully nurtured skills and animosities? This is a time of venality. The market now reaches into every institution and every relation. The bargaining manner, the huckstering animus, the memorized theology of pep, the commercialized evaluation of personal traits – they are all around us; in public and in private there is the tang and feel of salesmanship.[23]

Like Fromm, Mills argued that as the sales ethic becomes part of one's job and style of life, the result is alienation:

> People are required by the salesman ethic and convention to pretend interest in others in order to manipulate them. In the course of time, as this ethic spreads, it is got on to. Still, it is conformed to as part of one's job and one's style of life, but now with a winking eye, for one knows that manipulation is inherent in every human contact. Men are estranged from one another as each secretly tries to make an instrument of the other, and in time, a full circle is made; one makes an instrument of himself, and is estranged from It also.[24]

Of all these works, however, David Reisman's was the best-known. Reisman wished to chart "the way in which society ensures some degree of conformity from the individuals who make it up." He identified three main personality types or orientations that have appeared in the course of Western history: tradition-direction, or the conformity of individuals to customary relations of power and prestige; inner-direction, or the conformity of individuals to internalized goals implanted early in life by family, friends, and teachers; and other-direction, or the conformity of individuals to the beliefs and values of others with whom one shares the transient, superficial relations of the workplace. The heart of the book was Reisman's attempt to distinguish the new, other-directed middle-class style from the inner-directed middle-class style it was displacing. Other-directed persons such as bureaucrats and salaried white-collar workers, he argued, did not possess the stable, internal values of the older, inner-directed persons such as tradesmen, engineers, and

small entrepreneurs. As a result other-directed persons, anxiety-ridden and uncertain about their identity, were far more subject to peer presure, and they often fell victim to whim, fashion, and advertisement.[25]

It is easy to find fault with Reisman's categories, for "other" direction – the taking into account of others' expectations in deciding on lines of action – is part of any culture. But Reisman's use of the terms *inner* and *other* is perhaps meant to be more rhetorical than analytical. Inner-direction suggests a person whose inner spirit, be it heart, soul, or conscience, guides his behavior; other-direction suggests a person who has been emptied of his inner substance, leaving a hollow vessel that is then filled with the ideas and values of others. In the end the real significance of Reisman's argument may have been not its rigor or its predictive power but simply its metaphorical suggestiveness. Other-direction expressed Americans' sense that old-fashioned notions of independent-minded individualism were falling under the onslaught of corporate bureaucracies, public education, suburban social life, and advertising.

The Metaphorical Significance of Advertising

What's interesting in all these criticisms of modern society is how much they rely on metaphors taken from the world of the professional ad man. Words like *salesmanship* and *marketing orientation* clearly point to a new style of communication that has penetrated all the realms of middle-class life. The ad man comes to represent this style precisely because he, like so many middle-class employees, makes his living by creating and manipulating symbols. For example, in his delightful book *The Exurbanites*, A.C. Spectorsky chose the frantic life of New York City's symbolmakers – ad men, public relations consultants, publishers, and journalists – to exemplify the emergence of a new class of well-to-do, middle-class Americans who tried to combine city jobs with a genteel, rural life in the exurbs.[26] These exurbanites, it's clear, share not only an occupation but also a whole style of interpersonal behavior. And because this style of behavior contrasted so greatly with older ideals of forthright, independent-minded individualism, Americans reacted with ambivalence to that new style. That ambivalence can be traced in three themes common in literature of the 1950s: the idea that professional communicators use "sincerity" to achieve their own purposes; the idea that the very institutions professional comunicators work for create the need for such superficial styles; and the idea that professional communicators live at the breakneck pace that is increasingly required of all modern citizens.

In much of the critical literature on advertising in this period, words such as *insincerity, inauthenticity, superficiality, hypocrisy*, and *sham* appear time and again as descriptions of the social style of the modern advertising man. One of the earlier books to make this connection was Frederic Wakeman's 1946 novel *The Hucksters*. The hero of the novel, Victor Norman, is looking for a new job in New York City at the end of the war, having resigned his wartime position with the Office of War Information. He hopes for a radio job, but finds himself forced by circumstance and the lure of a $35,000-plus salary to take a job as an account executive for an advertising agency. Wakeman's description of how Norman dressed for his job interview at the

agency typifies the way in which Wakeman uses the word *sincerity* throughout his novel:

> He (Norman) looked at his suits, narrowed his choice down to a flannel and a sharkskin. Both suits had cost one hundred and fifty dollars, and he debated which one better looked the price. He decided on the sharkskin.
>
> A white unhollywood-looking shirt, of course. He wanted to look sincere and businesslike. Most of his ties were strictly from Charvet and Sulka and the Countess Mara. Far too loud for a really sincere person. So he put on a plain black knitted one, and finally the shoes he'd bought in London. Those shoes were the goddamnedest sincerest looking shoes in all of New York.[27]

This short passage perfectly identifies several traits commonly attributed to striving new middle-class people. The job interview is perhaps the archetypal modern ritual, the purest example of a modern setting in which people sell themselves to each other. Norman's concern for fashion is not to dress in what gives him pleasure, but in what most clearly communicates to others the proper degree of wealth and status. Most important is Norman's attempt to make the whole package seem perfectly natural, unplanned, and "sincere." In the novel, Norman's good judgment in sizing up his potential employer is vindicated when the interviewer, who himself is wearing the same sort of black tie, compliments Norman on his taste in ties.

Readers of Wakeman's book in 1946 probably took this passage the way it was intended: as an attack on the ad man's obviously hypocritical and shallow cynicism. Such condemnations of hypocrisy and insincerity were common throughout the 1950s. John Ciardi, analyzing the TV quiz show scandals, condemned the "Public Relations Mind" that "accepts public appearances as the basic test of principles" and that "cannot in fact distinguish between appearance and principle."[28] An *Esquire* writer investigating the teenage music idols of that era found that they tended to insist on authentic, sincere, heartfelt expression in their songs.[29] David Reisman and other social critics of that era condemned the increasing tendency of so many middle-class Americans to convert personal friendship into a business asset.[30] The range and intensity of such opinions suggests that Americans' traditional moral valuation of sincerity was being widely challenged.

Perhaps the best example of this challenge is the work of Erving Goffman. Goffman's methods and perspective have been widely influential, but no one has ever sufficiently investigated the cultural and historical context of his work. In many ways Goffman was both the describer and defender of the new "sincere" style that Wakeman had condemned. That Goffman's descriptions of interpersonal communication are so often uncannily shrewd is due to his apparent acceptance of the notion that all human relations are performances. But in accepting this definition of the problem, Goffman in effect alters the moral weight Americans had always given to the terms *sincere* and *cynical*, as the following passage from *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* suggests:

> When the individual has no belief in his own act and no ultimate

> concern with the beliefs of his own audience, we may call him cynical, reserving the term "sincere" for individuals who believe in the impression fostered by their own performance.[31]

In this passage, as in all his writing, Goffman couches his idea in elaborate irony. Goffman is bemused, but it is also true that he seems indifferent to the moral implications of his own ideas – that the connection between one's beliefs and behavior is a matter of no great consequence. This perspective is far removed from that of Wakeman. For Wakeman the cynic is one who uses sincerity to cover up his obviously insincere and hypocritical ways. For Goffman the cynic is the hard-nosed realist who sees "sincerity" for what it is – a useful ruse, but not a very good description of what personal relations are really about.

Americans' exaggerated sense of individualism has always made it difficult for them to confront the artifice and play-acting of society, and the 1950s' critique of insincerity might be considered as just one more example of a long-standing fear.[32] On the other hand, the particular context of the argument in the 1950s seemed more pressing. Talk about insincerity was a way of talking about the loss of the sense of self amid the chaos and gigantism of modern life. In the ad man Americans found a particularly apt symbol to represent this loss of the authentic self, for ad men, by their very occupation, are full-time manufacturers of images and professional presenters of self.[33] The ad man's very job requires him to turn his own words and personality to the service of others' interests.

Much of the critique of ad men also involved a critique of the organizations in which they worked. Again Americans encountered new occupations like advertising, public relations, and journalism with ambivalence. These jobs bespoke a certain glamour and celebrity, yet they also threatened to corrupt the individual as well, by forcing workers to construct insincere selves in order to be able to work in media organizations. The conformity, backstabbing, and anxiety attendant to organizational life was a recurring theme of the 1950s literature. Spectorsky, for example, points out that between the restful country mornings and evenings of the exurbanite sits the "gross and devouring" work day in New York City, "like the center of a bad sandwich."[34] Creating an imaginary measure of the intensity of anxiety, Spectorsky categorized media organizations according to the amount of psychic pain they created for their workers, from the low tension of small-book publishers up to higher levels for monthly and weekly magazine editors, free-lance artists, illustrators, publicity men, and radio and television executives, all the way up to the exquisitely intense pain experienced by advertising and publicity executives, who sit at the top of the scale and live their lives at the very boundary of their nervous systems' capacity.[35] The sociologist Joseph Bensman, writing under the pseudonym Ian Lewis about his experience in an advertising agency, makes much the same point. Concluding his penetrating essay on the sociology of ad agency work, Bensman asks whether he might recommend advertising work to a friend's son. He answers:

> If the friend's son is kind, gentle, ethical or religious, and he believes in spontaneous social relationsips, advertising would be

> an incompatible profession. Advertising requires strong defenses, toughness, nerve, the willingness to exploit oneself and others. Our young man might crack under the pressures, or worse, develop those chararacteristics necessary for occupational survival.[36]

As Bensman notes, "All work, but especially advertising, demands that the worker give much of his total personality, his total self to the job."[37]

Finally, the ad agency, like other media organizations, symbolized perfectly the speed of modern ways of life. One of the commonest experiences of all modern life over the last two centuries has been that of speed – in transportation, in the pace of daily life, in the rate of work – yet we don not note often enough the ways in which modern people try to express symbolically this experience of speed. Since at least the time of the penny press and telegraph, systems of mass communication have been used to dramatize the experience of speed, and in our own age the occupations of ad men and other professional communicators have come to serve a similar function. During the 1950s, for example, the emblem of the advertising man came to be the ulcer, that familiar badge of biological overload. As Martin Meyer described the climate on Madison Avenue:

> Advertising men, in fact, rarely get much time away from their jobs. They work in a windy atmosphere of shifting preferences, where crisis is a normal state of affairs and (as an advertising manager puts it) "somebody is always hitting the panic button." No job is every really completed except when catastrophe sweeps all the work away, and each individual is under constant pressure to produce more ideas, new ideas, better ideas. Every night the brief cases and attache cases go home stuffed with work, because the advertising man is paid for his production, not his time, and the industry expects every man to do his duty whether he is in the office or eating lunch, or on the commuter train or in the bosom of his family.[38]

Professional communications work particularly lends itself to such mythologizing because the demands of the media for new material are so voracious. The harried professional communicator has thus become a stock figure in American public dramas. The copywriter brainstorming to find a new campaign idea, the public relations executive trying to deal with the latest crisis, the journalist facing down the next deadline – in each of these cases the professional communicator's work has been used to exemplify the speed with which virtually all modern work must now be done.

The Debunking of Professional Journalism

Americans'concerns about advertising and modern work have not disappeared, though interestingly enough Americans seem far less agitated by these issues than they did 20 or 30 years ago. This lack of concern may reflect the current acceptance of the very things that people in the 1950s worried

over. Americans have accepted yet another acceleration of the pace of work and everyday life, in the name of productivity. It is now pragmatically assumed that the style of salesmanship that seemed so shallow and insincere to Americans in the 1950s is the way one gets along in corporate life. Americans talk about marketing themselves, dressing for success, or making a good impression without embarrassment and with few second thoughts. Students increasingly view careers in advertising and public relations as not only respectable but desirable. In short, a way of life that presented itself as a moral dilemma for Americans in the 1950s no longer seems so to us.

If one type of professional communicator has come to dominate the public imagination today, it is the journalist, especially the news journalist. Part of the interest in news journalists may be due to the recent acceptance of organizational life. Having accommodated themselves to bureaucratic organizations, Americans now seem more interested in how public media portray conflicts among those organizations. The world of news is *par excellence* the imaginative realm in which people's interpretations of one another collide. In a world of interest groups, in which each group has accepted public relations as the means to promote its own image of the world and of itself, professional journalists attract attention and criticism because they claim the right to sort out competing definitions of the world for the rest of society, and thus they bear the brunt of our anger when they do it in a fashion we dislike.[39]

Yet professional news journalists, who for so long carefully distinguished themselves from public relations and advertising workers, now have witnessed many of the criticisms traditionally directed at those groups being leveled against them. Up through the 1950s, public relations held at least as bad a reputation as advertising. Indeed, public relations seemed even more politically dangerous than advertising. Advertisers, at least, paid for their space, and their pitch was obvious; public relations people worked behind the scenes, and their work masqueraded as truth.[40] Journalists too were sometimes attacked, but they could always distance themselves from public relations and advertising by claiming the objectivity and impartiality of their calling. Journalists served only their own interpretation of truth.[41]

A whole series of studies of journalists' working lives have now called this claim into question. Daniel Boorstin's 1961 book *The Image* resurrected an argument first made by Walter Lippmann's 1922 book *Public Opinion*. Boorstin argued that much of what Americans take for news has no real existence at all. The shadow worlds created by news stories often rest on pseudo-events that have no purpose except to be reported as news.[42] More recent studies have extended this critique. Scholars have found that the very conventions of news tie the journalist to the biases and perspectives of news sources,[43] that journalists, especially those on television, often seem chosen for their style or demographic appeal rather than for their ability,[44] that journalists often engage in conformist or pack behavior that leads to striking similarities in the perspectives of their stories,[45] and that journalists' professional standards often bend rather easily to the demands of the organizations they work for.[46] In short, the conditions of corporate journalism, especially newspaper work, seem to undercut journalists' claims to a privileged position as unbiased communicators. The line between stories

constructed by public relations people and the news stories constructed by journalists has grown thin indeed. Professional journalists appear not as heroic defenders of truth but as one more species of corporate bureaucrat.

Journalists have earned much of this criticism, with their attempts to professionalize the skills of observation, interpretation, and communication. Yet part of the criticism of journalists results not from anything they have done but from Americans' attempts to enact their individualist ideals. Americans have committed themselves to two opposite strategies for bringing about better communication. On one hand they have expanded the quantity of information and entertainment available to each individual consumer. The creation of mass markets has encouraged the growth of large-scale mass communication organizations, and the concurrent growth of a class of professional communicators. On the other hand Americans have yearned to affirm an ideal style of individual communication – one in which each person communicates sincerely, spontaneously, and authentically. This desire for communion has led to criticism of the insincere, manipulative style of professional communicators. Thus the contradiction: professional communicators make available a seemingly boundless variety of bureaucratically constructed imaginative worlds, yet communicators' very style of communication undermines faith in the individualist ideals that those imaginative worlds were intended to serve.

Until Americans face that contradiction squarely, the professional communicator will continue to be a convenient target for their moral outrage, a rhetorical device by which Americans can deny moral complicity in the bureaucratic world that they have worked so hard to create and sustain.[47]

NOTES

[1]For a typical call to professional values, see Robert D. Leigh, ed., *A Free and Responsible Press* (Chicago, 1974), pp. 76-78. H.L. Mencken provides a refreshingly skeptical view of professionalism in journalism in his essay "Journalism in America," in *Prejudices: A Selection*, made by James T. Farrell (New York, 1958), pp. 213-32.

[2]Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News* (New York, 1978), pp. 121-59.

[3]Richard S. Tedlow, *Keeping the Corporate Image: Public Relations and Business, 1900-1950* (Greenwich, Conn., 1979), pp. 149-67; Alan R. Raucher, *Public Relations and Business, 1900-1929* (Baltimore, 1968), pp. 137-48.

[4]Quentin J. Schultze, "Advertising, Science, and Professionalism, 1885-1917," Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois, 1978, pp.120-25.

[5]Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism* (New York, 1976), pp.80-128, and Schudson, pp. 153-55.

[6]There are now more books in this field than can be comfortably listed in one footnote. For a convenient summary of this literature see James S. Ettema and D. Charles Whitney, eds., *Individuals in Mass Media Organizations: Creativity and Constraint* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1982), especially D. Charles Whitney, "Mass Communicator Studies: Similarity, Difference, and Level of Analysis," pp. 241-54.

[7]For example, see Jean B. Quandt, *From the Small Town to the Great Community* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970), pp. 67-75.

[8]John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Affluent Society* (New York, 1958), pp. 101-13.

[9]A good description of the motivational research controversy is Perrin Stryker, "What's the Motive?" in *The Amazing Advertising Business* (New York, 1957), pp. 60-80.

[10]Vance Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders* (New York, 1957), pp. 3-4.

[11]Edwin Sutherland, *White Collar Crime* (New York, 1949).

[12]Norman Jaspan with Hillel Black, *The Thief in the White Collar* (Philadelphia, 1960), p. 11.

[13]Frank Gibney, *The Operators* (New York, 1960), p. 10.

[14]Sutherland, p. 10.

[15]Sutherland, pp. 218-20.

[16]James Prothro, "Public Interest Advertising – Hucksterism or Conservatism?" *Social Studies*, 45 (May 1954), p. 173.

[17]David Potter, *People of Plenty* (Chicago, 1954), p. 193.

[18]Gibney, pp. 10-11.

[19]Daniel Bell, "The Impact of Advertising," *New Leader*, 40 (February 11, 1957), p. 9.

[20]Leon Bramson, *The Political Context of Sociology* (Princeton, N.J., 1961), pp. 47-72.

[21]William H. Whyte, Jr., *The Organization Man* (New York, 1957), p. 7. Also see Whyte, *Is Anybody Listening?* (New York, 1952), pp. 206-239.

[22]Erich Fromm, *Man for Himself* (New York, 1947), p. 72.

[23]C. Wright Mills, *White Collar* (New York, 1956), p. 161.

[24]Mills, p. 188.

[25]David Reisman, *The Lonely Crowd* (New York, 1953), pp. 24-35.

[26]A.C. Spectorsky, *The Exurbanites* (Philadelphia, 1955).

[27]Frederic Wakeman, *The Hucksters* (New York, 1945), p. 5.

[28]John Ciardi, "Exit a Symbol," *Saturday Review*, 42 (November 21, 1959), p. 59.

[29]Thoman B. Morgan, "The Adoration of Frankie, Ricky, and Kookie," *Esquire*, 99 (June 1983), pp. 184-90. Reprint of article that originally ran in March 1960.

[30]Quoted in Irwin Ross, *The Image Merchants* (New York, 1959), p. 252.

[31]Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York, 1959), p. 18.

[32]For examples of earlier debates over manners and style, see John William Ward, *Andrew Jackson, Symbol for an Age* (New York, 1955), pp. 30-45, and Stow Persons, *The Decline of American Gentility* (New York, 1973), pp. 278-85.

[33]Martin Mayer suggests that the concern for impression influences even the architecture and decor of ad agency offices. "On the outside, unfortunately, the new buildings (on Madison Avenue) are mostly very much alike; on the inside it is every man for himself. Appearance (the pejorative word is 'front') means a great deal in advertising. At the agencies, especially, decor is a means of expression; the agency tries to say something about itself by its use of space, color and design." *Madison Avenue, U.S.A.* (New York, 1958), p. 7.

[34]Spectorsky, p. 133.

[35]Spectorsky, pp. 137-50.

[36]Ian Lewis, "In the Courts of Power – the Advertising Man," in Peter Berger, ed., *The Human Shape of Work* (Chicago, 1964), p. 178.

[37]Lewis, p. 179.

[38]Mayer, p. 10.

[39]For a discussion of the journalist as middleman, see James W. Carey, "The Communications Revolution and the Professional Communicator," in P. Halmos, ed., *The Sociology of Mass Media Com-*

municators, Sociological Review Monograph 13 (University of Keele, 1969), pp. 23-38.

[40]Tedlow, pp. 169-92.

[41]Schudson, p. 147.

[42]Daniel Boostin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (New York, 1971), pp. 7-44.

[43]Bernard Boshco, *Newsmaking* (Chicago, 1975).

[44]Ron Powers. *The Newscasters: the News Business as Show Business* (New York, 1977).

[45]Timothy Crouse, *The Boys on the Bus* (New York, 1973).

[46]Edward Epstein, *News from Nowhere* (New York, 1973).

[47]Ann Douglas, in a different context, has argued that Americans created a "sentimental lie" in response to 19th century industrialism. By making ministers and women the dramatic representatives of sentimentalism, Americans could symbolically assert their belief in sentimental values at the very moment that the expanding industrial economy was stamping out such values in everyday life. *The Feminization of America* (New York, 1977). In a similar way Americans maintain their concern for the moral aspects of communication most vociferously at the very moment that the material conditions of communication are being ever more bureaucratized and professionalized.

Book Reviews

Review Essay: Historical Treatments of Communication Technologies and Society

The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe. *By Elizabeth L. Eisenstein.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. 311 pp. Cloth, $34.50. Paper, $9.95.

Forecasting the Telephone: A Retrospective Technology Assessment. *By Ethiel de Sola Pool.* Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corp., 1983. 192 pp. Cloth, $22.50.

Communication Technologies and Society: Conceptions of Causality and the Politics of Technological Intervention. *By Jennifer Daryl Slack.* Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corp., 1984. 166 pp. Cloth, $19.50.

Media prophets and technology fututists augur more than mere visions of global villages or brave new worlds. Along with their visions of the shape-of-things-to-come come particular notions of the past and particular conceptions of society. Foresight is but a projection of hindsight and social understanding – social history in a new tense.

The prophetic literature on communication technologies has typically assumed a rigid separation inevitably reifies the concepts: society contains all that is human; technology is something other than human, be it a disembodied historical force empowered by its own internal logic or simply a tool that extends human capabilities.

Technology, by the former account, invariably eclipses mankind and brings society under the domination of a technocratic elite, the dystopian scenarios envisioned in the scholarship of Jacques Ellul and Lewis Mumford and in the dark literary machinations of Aldous Huxley and George Orwell. By the latter account, technology serves a liberating function by creating the Great Community foreseen by John Dewey and the Chicago School, by establishing a Global Village as prophesied by Marshal McLuhan, or by undermining the existing social order in Marxian fashion.

Society and communication technologies are not, of course, made of different stuff. Neither are they indistinguishable. A reductionism that takes, for example, David Noble's "technology-is-people" hyperbole at face value is nonsense. Such reductionisms die a death of a thousand tautologies or buckle from the force of their own wrenching disjunction from everyday experience. The distinction between technology and society remains a useful, albeit

troublesome, notion with which to contend. In their own ways, the three books considered here contend with the relationships between communication technology and society, and between history and prophecy.

Elizabeth Eisenstein's monumental studies on the advent of printing and its impact on Western culture, including *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe,* were inspired by the author's reading of McLuhan's *Gutenberg Galaxy.* By Eisenstein's own admission, McLuhan's prophecies (derided by Lewis Mumford as "electronic phantasmagoria") stirred her from her academic slumbers and "stimulated (her) curiosity...about the specific historical consequences of the fifteenth-century communications shift."

The fruit of Eisenstein's curiosity first appeared in several journal articles and was later refined and expanded into her massive two-volume work, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge, 1979). Her new book is an abridged, single-volume version of that two-volume opus.

The new book retains many of the strongest features of the unabridged edition. For example, Eisenstein constructs a conceptual base for understanding historically the impact of the printing press and printers on the Western culture and the "Commonwealth of Learning" by arguing that the advent of printing constituted a decisive and fundamental break between two cultural forms, notable in relation to the modes of cultural production and social consciousness. She argues that certain features of culture remained the same, but the introduction of printing ultimately altered perception, thought, and forms of intellectual and social interaction, and consequently produced a cultural revolution.

The subtleties of Eisenstein's revolutionary model of change are obscured somewhat in this abridged edition, but the model's basic outline endures. Despite its abbreviated form, her argument still challenges the limited, cautious conclusions of specialists as well as the sweeping claims of those who, like Innis and McLuhan, have taken printing as a cultural demarcation point.

The Printing Revolution is divided into two main parts. The first examines the shift from script to print and sketches some of the main features of the printing revolution. The second deals more directly with the cultutal and intellectual impact of this technological revolution in early modern Europe. If anything, these abridged sections are stronger than their original counterparts because they are more concise and have deleted some of the unnecessary, belabored details.

Thankfully, the price of this new abridged edition has also been abridged and will make Eisenstein's valuable insights available to a much wider audience.

Eisenstein's new book unfortunately retains some of the problems contained in the original and has, in fact, added some new ones. As with the two-volume edition, *The Printing Revolution* remains more a suggestive and speculative piece than a fine-tuned piece of historical research. Despite her disclaimers to the contrary, Eisenstein's reluctance to decentralize the role of technology and to emphasize instead "the printer as an agent of change" prevents her from breaking free from a lurking technological determinism and from some of the very conceptual limitations she rejects in her larger book. Like most con-

densations and popularizations, *The Printing Revolution* has also replaced its footnotes, documentation and thoroughness with pictures and graphics for the sake of marketability.

Whatever its shortcomings, however, Eisenstein's *The Printing Revolution*remains a remarkable piece of research and reflection. It exemplifies a sensible understanding and treatment of communication technology which avoids the undue caution and neglect of traditional historical accounts and the undue excesses of media prophets such as McLuhan. For those unfamiliar with her earlier works, it is must reading. For those wanting an inexpensive summary of the substance of her work, it is worth purchasing. For those already well-versed in early printing history and Eisenstein's original two-volume set, *The Printing Revolution* will seem less than revolutionary.

Ithiel de Sola Pool's *Forecasting the Telephone* is a history of the future. Specifically, the book deals with forecasts made from 1876 to 1940 about the telephone and what the new technology would do to society. It asks, "How well were people at that time able to anticipate consequences of the new technology, given only the knowldege and tools that existed in those days?"

On the whole, *Forecasting the Telephone* is a marvelous collection of predictions made about the telephone, some amazingly off-the-wall, some amazingly on-target. This resource work will be of interest to historians of the electronic media because it captures so many of the expectations, dreams, and even fantasies people had for the new electronic technology. Scholars will also find it useful because it is carefully and logically organized. Phone forecasts are grouped accordingly to their social, economic, environmental, political and cultural effects. The predictions are also organized by topics such as the telephone and its relationship to learning, conceptions of the self and the universe, the social structure and patterns of human settlement.

At the same time, *Forecasting the Telephone,* subtitled *A Retrospective Technology Assessment of the Telephone,* claims more than it delivers. Behind the technical jargon and pseudo-scientific methodology outlined in the first chapter is a simple, interesting historical inventory of what writers predicted about the telephone. The book does not, as the author claims, provide extensive analysis of any of the predictions discovered, or address to any significant degree "how well forecasters succeeded." *Forecasting the Telephone* is very thin on analysis or interpretation.

The technique of retrospective technology assessment, as presented here by the author, borders on the fallacious. Pool asks "what if" questions or "counterfactuals," what David Hackett Fischer refers to as the "fallacy of fictional questions." Pool asks, for example, "If good methodologies had been followed and good data collected, how far could the consequences of the telephone...have been anticipated in advance?" Pool stumbles into the "what if" fallacy when he tries to use the forecasting techniques of the "technology assessors" for "forecasting" the past. The result is neither science nor history, but sleight-of-hand.

Forecasting the Telephone's concern with the "social effects" of the telephone also reveals Pool's reliance on technological determinism as his explanatory logic and on the naive assumption that technologies and society

are made of different stuff. After searching out the telephone's "impact" on society, Pool concludes that the phone "modified," "created," "changed," and "caused" all kinds of social transformations. Pool thus succeeds, at one time, in providing an interesting, historical inventory of prophecies while perpetuating the myth that people are passive pawns before autonomous technologies.

Jennifer Daryl Slack's interest in communication technologies and society were stimulated by her reading of N. R. Danielians's 1939 classic indictment of the telephone giant, A.T.&T., and its manipulative use of the patent laws. The product of her research, *Communication Technologies and Society*, is itself a stimulating and insightful three-part intellectual history of technology-society theory.

The first section of her book, "Contemporary Critiques of the Relationship between Communication Technologies and Society," unravels the assumptions and logic of three of the most touted perspectives – Technology Assessment (ala Pool), Alternative Technology and Luddism. Slack argues that Technology Assessment, despite its rigor and "results," provides no substantive critique of the technology-society relationship because it is so closely tied to the administrative interests of business and government.

Luddism, a name taken from a group of 19th century British labors-turned-technocrats, condemns the machine as a symbol of the entire oppressive social system from which it springs. Even in its less radical forms, Luddism is consumed by a pervasive pessimism which renders it largely incapable of providing constructive criticism of the technology-society relationship.

Alternative technology, something of a *via media* between Technology Assessment and Luddism, is a label that loosely links various groups that understand technological development in terms of its social progress, and its preoccupation with the uses of technologies rather than their structures or relationships to society.

The second section, "The Relationship Between Communication Technologies and Society: Causality and Intervention," is the most complex, yet philosophically rewarding part of her book. The conceptions of causality underlying the dominant critiques of the technology-society relationship that she examines are each found to be inadiquate. Mechanistic conceptions, for example, overlook the fact that invention and innovation are deeply imbedded in the social fabric, and therefore technologies cannot be neutral, autonomus or self-propelled. Expressive causality links technologies and societies dialecticaly and reductionistically, as both the cause and effect. This, Slack argues, severly limits the kinds of interventions possible because the essence of society itself must be altered.

As an alternative conception of causality, Slack offers what she calls structural causality, a notion based largely on on the work of Louis Althusser. Structural causality, according to Slack, "posits that causes do not exist apart from their effects and that structure, which excercises effectivity, consists of its effects." The logic of structural causality, at least in contrast with other conceptions of causality, rejects generalized notions or laws as universally determining the nature of the relationship between communication

technologies and society. Instead, the definition of that relationship must be sought only for historically specific moments.

The third section, "The Relationship Between Patent Law and the Invention and Innovation of Communication Technologies," tries to give concrete historical expression to the theoretical perspective outlined in the second section. Slack examines three stages of the effective relationship between communication technologies, technical systems and patent law. First, the early development of capitalist relations of production and the place paatent law played in that development are traced. The second stage shows how technologies were created with patent privileges to insure domination and to control competition. Finally, the third stage involves conflicts over the extension of patent protection to new technological developments.

The final section of her book, "Communications Revolutions: Causality and Intervention," are integrally interwoven. As a result, Slack argues that the concept of "communications revolution" (as suggested by Eisenstein's *Printing Revolution*, for example) typically embodies a technocentric or communicentric notion of society that is either mechanistic or expressive.

In a sense, Slack brings us back to the concerns of social-historical understanding and futurist intervention, addressed in the introduction of this essay and in the review of Eisenstein's and Pool's works, when she argues that "there is no information age or revolution – no fundamentally different technologies that will either cause a new social order or reflect the essence of a new social order or reflect the essence of a new social totality." Not until one moves beyond technocentric or communicentric images of society to confront the historically specific relationships between technology and society are sensible, informed interventions possible.

In the end, Slack offers a powerful historical and theoretical critique of the common notions of the relationship between communication technologies and society, a critique well worth careful study. Though some may find the book abstract and overly dependent on philosophical jargon, the approach Slack takes to this complex set of issues is meritorious.

Roy Alden Atwood
University of Idaho

Review Essay: The Alternative Press

The Dissident Press: Alternative Journalism in American History. *By Lauren Kessler.* Vol. 13: Sage CommText. Beverly Hills, Ca.: Sage Publications, 1984. 159 pp. Paper, $8.95.

Right In Her Soul: A Biography of Anna Louise Strong. *By Tracy B. Strong and Helene Keyssar.* New York: Random House, 1983. 400 pp. Cloth, $22.95.

Ida Tarbell: Portrait of a Muckraker. *By Kathleen Brady.* New York: SeaviewPutnam, 1984. 286 pp. Cloth, $17.95.

Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker: A Bibliography and Index. *By Anne Klejment and Alice Klejment.* New York: Garland, 1985. 400 pp. n.p.

We often think of the "alternative press" as a fairly recent phenomenon,

consisting mainly of the "New Journalism" and the anti-Vietnam War Press of the 1960s and 1970s. Such has been the focus of several recent books — Glessing, *The Underground Press in America* (1970); Johnson, *The New Journalism* (1971); Leamer, *The Paper Revolutionaries: The Rise of the Underground Press* (1972); Dennis and Rivers, *Other Voices: The New Journalism in America* (1974.) Only a few, notably Dennis and Rivers, have expanded their definition of "alternative press" beyond these parameters.

Enter Lauren Kessler's *The Dissident Press: Alternative Journalism in American History*, the most far-reaching survey of this subject to date. Starting in the early 1880s, *The Dissident Press* emphasizes the long tradition of alternative journalism in this country. Kessler defines alternative journalism broadly, focusing on the journalistic activities of six groups which have been "on the fringe of (mainstream) cultural ideology": blacks, feminists, immigrants, political radicals (Populists, Wobblies, Socialists, Communists), utopians (members of Brook Farm, Oneida Community, and their counterparts), and twentieth-century war resisters. *The Dissident Press* is the first attempt to explore the links between the journalism of all these groups and to emphasize the continuity of the alternative press.

Kessler's rationale for selection of these dissident journalists is sound. She chose them on the basis of the wealth, diversity, and longevity of their publications — and the impact of their journalism on the mainstream marketplace of ideas. She presents a historical context for each group, evaluates the goals of the dissident journalists, and then describes their political, economic, and personal difficulties in achieving these objectives. In each case, Kessler discusses the social impact of the group — on conventional thinking and the conventional press. Of course, such influence can't be neatly measured, but her conclusions are reasonable. Only one seems a bit too sweeping: that dissident journalists *never* considered journalism a profession for its own sake. In its chapter on the contemporary alternative press, *The News People* (Johnstone, Slawski, Bowman, 1976) gave this impression, but there are some earlier exceptions. Max Eastman's *Masses*, for instance, sometimes seemed to value literary style and inventiveness above its professed leftist ideology. (Professionalism and the alternative press would certainly be rich territory for the next book in this area!)

The chapter on the nineteenth-century utopians is especially strong, with a perceptive comparision and contrast of such publications as the Owenist *New Harmony Gazette*, the Transcendentalist *Dial*, and the Brook Farm *Harbinger*. Like all the other chapters, this one is well-conceived and organized internally.

The overall organizational scheme is appropriate, although the material on the religious alternative press is rather ineffectively subsumed under secular chapters. Although many in our field have been slow to see it, religion is a major cultural institution which demands to be studied as such. Our peers in the larger discipline of American history have long recognized this, and produced some splendid studies. An additional chapter on the religious alternative press, then, would be an improvement. For instance, the Protestant Social Gospel publications and Dorothy Day's *Catholic Worker* are discussed in separate chapters, in an almost exclusively secular context. The important connections between the two are lost. (Both sought to infuse

organized religion – Protestant in one case, Catholic in the other – with a concern for social justice.) A chapter on the religious alternative press could better explore such relationships, as well as increase general clarity (for instance, the classification of the *Catholic Worker* as an "anarcho-pacifist" publication obscures significant aspects of its religious character.)

A broader analytical perspecive would also make explicit other relationships among the six dissident groups – for instance, some of the German-American Socialist publications (such as *Die Neue Zeit*) were closely tied to contemporary feminist ideology.

It should be stressed that all of these criticisms are minor. None detract from the book's achievement: *The Dissident Press* is the most thorough survey of the alternative press to date. It reveals the traditional and continuity of that press, placing it squarely within a historical context. By casting a wide net, *The Dissident Press* provides a fresher and more useful perspective on the alternative press than any other single work to date. It is an excellent freestanding text for classes on the alternative press, as well as a useful supplement for general journalism texts that barely explore this area.

Any biography of Anna Louise Strong commands interest. After all, she was a crony of Big Bill Haywood, Emma Goldman, Jane Addams, "Mother" Ella Bloor, Max Eastman, and Eleanor Roosevelt (not to mention Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-Lai); she worked with the Wobblies, and she wrote firsthand dispatches from Russia, Mexico, Spain and China describing revolutionary events.

And the biography produced by Strong's nephew Tracy B. Strong (chair, Political Science Dept., University of California at San Diego) and Helene Keyssar (chair, Communications Dept. at the same university) is certainly interesting reading. Solid primary research informs the well-written narrative. The authors not only drew on family papers, personal letters, and Strong's published and unpublished works, they also examined archival material in the People's Republic of China, where they interviewed all those they could find who remembered Strong.

But something is missing: secondary research, context, and analysis. For instance, the authors provide plenty of anecdotes about Strong's personal views on marriage, but they scarcely address or analyze her view of the major women's issues of her time. Was she, perhaps, like Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Mary Heaton Vorse, Dorothy Day, and other leftist women journalists who (as Susan Ware suggests in *Holding Their Own: American Women in the 1930s*) were so affected by the calamity of the Great Depression that they chose to devote themselves not to a feminist revolution, but to a more overriding (they thought) socialist one? Was Strong, also, more disposed to consider the poor, rather than women, as a class? The authors never raise such questions; their failure to probe is reflected in their uncritical and repeated use of the term "sufragettes."

Other questions that remain unanswered include those dealing with Strong's religious background. Child of progressive Christian idealists (one of them a minister), she surely was exposed to the Social Gospel; indeed she started her career as a social worker with Jane Addams at Hull House. Both the impact of her early religious training on her thought and journalism is

never satisfactorily covered. And some discussion and analysis of Strong's journalism seems obligatory – but instead, the snippets from her writings reproduced at the start of each chapter are apparently deemed sufficient.

The treatment of the McCarthy period is especially superficial. If Lillian Hellman faced a subpoena, surely Anna Louise Strong ran into a little trouble – or at least, had some passionate feelings about that era. But we never find out.

For a book whose primary research is as extensive as this, and which comes with full scholarly accoutrements, *Right in Her Soul* is downright dissappointing. The authors have simply left out an interpretive framework in the crucial areas of American history and journalism.

The book is thus worthwhile mainly as a chronicle. The interviews with Strong's Chinese colleagues are valuable and enlightening oral history. But it's up to the reader – and other scholars in subsequent works – to provide the interpretation that could have made this effort truly first-class.

The biography of Ida Tarbell fares better under the efforts of Kathleen Brady, a novelist on the staff of *Time* magazine. Not surprisingly, this book is a pleasure to read – but not only on the basis of the writing quality. The research is meticulous and the interpretation detailed and sound.

Tarbell, one of the best known of the turn-of-the-century muckrakers, took on John D. Rockefeller and Standard Oil Company with such perseverance that the Supreme Court eventually dissolved the enormous monopoly. During her career, she also interviewed such figures as Mussolini, Zola, and Pasteur, wrote biographies of Lincoln and Napoleon, and produced numerous articles for *McClure's*, the *American Magazine*, and many other publications on everything from labor and tariff controversies, to women's roles and social issues.

Brady pored over Tarbell's papers and letters (housed in more than two dozen libraries across the continent) as well as her books and articles, to produce a fair and informed portrait. She effectively sets Tarbell's life against American history, resulting in a biography that transcends the personal and illuminates an era. Tarbell's keen mind and determination made her one of the most respected and feared journalists of her day. Yet she was also an anti-suffragist who, despite her success as an independent, unmarried woman, felt that women's true calling was to serve in the home as wives and mothers – a conservative in the tradition of Catherine Ward Beecher. For such beliefs, Tarbell earned the censure of Helen Keller, Jane Addams, and others.

Brady explores the intricacies and occasional contradictions of Tarbell's thought, interpreting it within the context of American social and intellectual history. The result is a solidly researched and insightful account. Many have observed that journalists write "instant history"; in her biography of Ida Tarbell, Kathleen Brady has achieved much more.

Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker: A Bibliography and Index is a reference source that sheds light on a major figure in American religious advocacy journalism and Catholic social history. Once a journalist for the Socialist *Call*, the *Masses*, and the *Liberator*, Day converted to Catholicism and in 1933 founded the Catholic Worker movement and its monthly paper,

the *Catholic Worker*. Her efforts represented a historic and influential attempt to unite traditional Catholicism with secular radicals' social justice and peace activism. Through the *Catholic Worker* and her activism, Day influenced the lives of intellectuals (e.g., Michael Harrington, Thomas Merton, the priests Daniel and Philip Berrigan) as well as the homeless she sheltered in New York City. She was a gifted and prolific writer who single-mindedly edited the *Catholic Worker* until her death in 1980 at the age of 83. She made it the longest continuing pacifist voice for peace in the Catholic Church – an effort the American Catholic bishops singled out in their 1983 pastoral letter on peace in the nuclear age.

This bibliography and index includes a brief factual introduction to the Catholic Worker movement, a chronological list of articles printed in the *Catholic Worker* from 1933 to 1983, and a complete list of works by Day from 1916 to 1980 (including her early Socialist journalism and numerous articles for *America*, *Commonweal*, *Catholic Digest*, *New Republic*, *Liberation*, and other magazines.) Several important pieces, including her 1917 interview with Trotsky in the *Call*, have never before been unearthed. A substantial select list of publications about Day and the Catholic Worker movement is skillfully annoted. Author and title indexes are also included. This will become the indispensable guide for anyone researching this subject.

Nancy L. Roberts
University of Minnesota

Native American Periodicals and Newspapers 1828-1982: Bibliography, Publishing Record, and Holdings. *Edited by James P. Danky. Compiled by Maureen E. Hady.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984. 532 pp. Cloth, $49.95.

This volume offers an invaluable service to scholars and researchers of Native American communications. Danky and Hady have compiled an extensive listing of Indian periodicals and newspapers from the earliest days to the present, with information on library sources for all the listings. Holdings of 146 libraries and research collections include hard current copies and microforms. Illustrations of front covers of forty-nine current or recent magazines, newsletters, and newspapers add to the interest and attractiveness of the book.

The forward by Vine Deloria, Jr., calls the bibliography "amazingly complete." Danky and Hady have indeed done an exhaustive and creative job and have made a major contribution to research and researchers. They also welcome, as their introduction states, comments, contributions, and suggestions for update work. The evidence offered in *Native American Periodicals and Newspapers* should convince doubters that the histories of American media must and can be greatly improved by a look at the fuller picture of what has been going on in North America since 1828. Both in content and structure, the book invites readers to learn more.

Publications are listed alphabetically by title, with descriptions in varying degrees of detail of the individual publications, focus, format, publication schedule, and history. The listings form the bulk of the book, followed by a

subject index of major issues and subject matter as focused on by the individual publications. So, for example, one can refer to the subject index for names of publications focusing on arts and crafts, career planning, Creek language materials, politics, and law.

In many cases, editors and-or publishers are listed, and an index of editors at the back of the book offers a veritable who's who – or who was who – in the Indian press. That index in itself can be a good starting point for historical and contemporary media research. There is also an index of publishers, made up mostly of agencies, tribal groups, educational, church, and government units. A geographic index of forty-seven states, twelve Canadian provinces, and two European countries (Germany and the Netherlands), and a "catchword and subtitle index" reveal the breadth of communications work among American Indians.

One of the briefest and yet most interesting sections is an historical lesson-at-a-glance, titled "chronological index." It lists holdings of papers published during each decade, with lists growing in each decade after the Civil War. The bibliography includes publications produced by Native Americans as well as by groups and organizations with special purposes regarding Indians. Agencies, churches, and government branches often sponsored, at least in part, publications by and for Indians. Such sponsorship continues to the present. Although these might not be considered by some to be genuine Native American publications *per se,* they are often valuable resources for filling in the picture for students, writers, and interested observers. Thus, for example, newsletters and periodicals of the various mission groups working among Indians, and Bureau of Indian Affairs publications appear.

An important group of publications listed includes those which focus on law, culture, education, and politics. Under related headings in the subject index one finds proof aplenty that Native American journalists have been aware of the potential of the press to direct and mold public opinion, and to educate and inform Indian communities.

There is little need to stress the uniqueness of this book and the necessity for journalism historians to pay attention to it. If the next decade's texts and commentaries do not in some way reflect the realities evidenced in *Native American Periodicals and Newspapers,* their authors shall not have done their homework. Danky and Hady certainly have.

Sharon M. Murphy
Marquette University

Congressional Television: A Legislative History. *By Ronald Garay.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984. 195 pp. Cloth, $27.95.

With about 150 pages of text this book presents a quick overview of the history of broadcasting the proceedings of Congress. Radio is covered in one chapter, but the primary focus is on televising Congress on all levels and in all activities.

The first chapter examines all of the various ways the broadcast media have covered Congress, and even the President. Chapter two is on radio coverage;

chapter three then begins an examination of the theme of the remainder of the book – televising Congress.

This book does give the reader a brief, but well-written and well-documented, look at the history of attempts to obtain television coverage of both houses of Congress. It contains extensive notes and references for those wanting to pursue a more thorough examination of this subject.

I found this book quite interesting as a summary of this area of journalism history. It documents all of the problems broadcasters have faced, and still face, when attempting to cover Congress using the technology necessary to their trade. It's a good overview of an important problem area in journalism.

James A. Wollert
Memphis State University

Agents of Power: The Role of the News Media in Human Affairs. *By J. Herbert Altschull.* New York: Longman, 1984. 355 pp. Cloth, $29.95.

Agents of Power is a general survey of press history and press issues, which presents its own classification scheme of the world press. The book covers a great number of topics, employing a debunking attitude toward press orthodoxies. It is a challenging book in terms of both its organizational pattern and its thesis.

Our received view of American press history starts with the origins of the colonial press in England and follows it through to late twentieth century communications technology. The orthodox view tends to elaborate on great men, the New York market, progress in a unilinear curve; to overemphasize the role of the media; and to slight the media's ideological context.

Agents of Power's organization sketches American press history until 1917, when in Altschull's view American became a leading world actor. The organization emphasizes a world and a comparative ideological focus. This conceptualization is a valuable addition to press history, emphasizing as it does the interrelatedness of contemporary American history and the world scene. The author presents chapters that discuss the press of the planned economy, the capitalist economy, and the developing nation economy.

An overall context for understanding the American press is presented with chapters on social responsibility, UNESCO, and the effect of the economic base of the press. The last chapter presents a classification of the press that challenges the one in *Four Theories of the Press*, with the new schema of market, Marxist, and advancing. The book concludes with a thirty-four-page bibliographic essay on sources that is a valuable addition.

The book acknowledges that the press can and does act as a powerful actor, but maintains the thesis that the press is the agent of powerful political and economic forces. Altschull illustrates the thesis with the case history of the New York *Times'* expose of the corrupt William Tweed ring of Tammany Hall in the 1870s. That the press had a powerful effect was shown by Tweed's drawing a prison term. That the press was an agent of political forces was indicated by the *Times* acting under the instigation of, and using the evidence of, Samuel J. Tilden's political forces.

The correlate to Altschull's thesis is that journalists are not free agents but must be responsive to front office dictates. Altschull uses a personal example to illustrate this point. He was forced by Associated Press headquarters in 1957 to give a certain interpretation to German national elections that Alschull "knew" was wrong. Although a few cases do not prove a general thesis, Altschull has thirty years of media experience, research, and academic work behind him. His thesis, a challenging probe, is repeated throughout the text by way of giving significance and direction to the facts he presents. If this book sparks a scholarly debate it will serve a useful purpose.

Yet it is a book that should be approached with caution. The historical section skims the surface. In one surprising error, Altschull has Adolph Ochs *founding* the New York *Times* in 1896. He forgets to develop Hearst's twentieth century career, when he became the largest chain publisher ever. His explanation of the muckraking era is tendentious.

Still, the book is original and develops new material that is of considerable value. Among such contributions that could be mentioned are Altschull's use of European context for the history chapters, the historical synopsis of the rise of advertising, the fair-minded discussion of the planned-economy press, and the summary of the "free" versus "balanced" flow of information debate.

William Parmenter
University of Akron

Crisis and Conflict: World News Reporting Between Two Wars, 1920--1940. *By Robert W. Desmond.* Iowa City, Ia.: University of Iowa Press, 1982. 518 pp. $30.00.

Since the idea of the world as a global community is becoming a fact in the twentieth century, the need to comprehend its institutions in a broad international setting has grown. It is, moreover, surely a fact that journalism as an institution is international as well as national. Historians have long acknowledged the presence of modern, world wide communications as one of the chief factors shaping the growing interdependency and interactions between nations, yet journalism remains frequently perceived and studied only in a national context. With *Crisis and Conflict: World News Reporting Between Two Wars 1920-1940,* Robert Desmond offers us a study that will help to correct such institutional parochialism where it exists.

This volume is the third in Desmond's projected five volume series on international information gathering. The first volume, *The Information Process,* brought the investigation up to the twentieth century; the second, *Windows on the World,* covered the years 1900 to 1920. With the present volume, he advances his study another twenty years. Those two decades, known respectively as the interwar years, were crowded and explosive. The depth, violence, rapidity and crisscross of many of the national and international movements of that period, their destruction of international order and implications for the future, combined to underscore the complexity of that period as well as its integral connection to contemporary society. To explain the nature and structure of international newsgathering amid all of

the diversity of those turbulent years is a formidable task. Fortunately, Desmond's qualifications allow him to tackle this task with unusual expertise. He has pursued two careers, one in the academic world and the other as a working journalist, and both are rich in achievement. His scholarly books are well-known among students of journalism. During the period surveyed in *Crisis and Conflict*, he served either as an editor or reporter in many positions in this country and also in Paris, London, Rome, Berlin, Havana and Geneva. Consequently, his own experience and many acquaintances of those years provide him with a particular resource to assist him in assembling the pieces of the international puzzle in their proper order.

In the present volume, Desmond provides an overview of the world's press and places it against the historical setting of the interwar years. He clearly explains the diverse means by which journalists gathered information across the world and examines conditions that facilitated or impeded that process. His explaination of international news agencies and services bears a master's touch. The analysis of the world's press in the book, however, extends far beyond probing into the intricacies of such organizations. It includes an examination of what Desmond labels "world press patterns," the national and regional character of the press throughout the world as reflected in its format and content. The book, in fact, is encyclopedic in its coverage. In it one will find especially useful information on the press in Britain and the United States as well as on the obstacles that journalists encountered in the Soviet Union between the wars and particularly in Italy, Germany, and Japan in the 1930s. Hundreds of individual newsmen and correspondents find their way into the book in orderly fashion, and a few of the more important figures among them are selected for individual elaboration. Such commentary is both interesting and appreciated.

There are, however, a few less attractive features of the book. For instance, the author explains that his purpose is "to bring together, often for the first time, diverse elements in the reporting of public affairs, internationally, and of history-in-the-making for the period covered" (p. xii). That objective is laudable, but its implementation necessitates a more careful examination of historical change and handling of generalizations about the past than is offered in this volume. Too frequently Desmond's historical summaries tend to jump from event to event, and from person to person creating a type of flat collage of snapshots of the past. As a result, he rarely provides a glimpse of the complete picture. Such brevity, at times, does an injustice to major figures. For example,in his treatment of statesmen such as Jan Christian Smuts of South Africa and Gustav Stresemann of Germany, the author manages to miss the real accomplishment of either of these renowned personalities. Biographical commentary can be brief, but it should capture the essence of the characters considered.

The author, moreover, avoids the range of interpretive analysis that one would appreciate having from someone with his qualifications. Although the book does contain some interpretive reflection, it leaves the reader with too many questions about important considerations. What can be concluded about the quality of the reporting of world affairs during the years covered? Did the quality of that reporting compare favorably or unfavorably with that of previous periods? Was it well adjusted to the public needs of the time?

Were the newsmen of the 1920s and 1930s well equipped to handle the challenges they encountered in their work? To what degree can the misfortunes and mistakes of the time be attributed to their actions or lack of action? Such questions merit consideration.

Finally, the book lacks some of the markings of careful scholarship. The author,for instance, is rather cavalier in his handling of footnote citations, which are far too scarce and sometimes even without page references. Thus the reader is deprived, in large measure, of the opportunity to pursue specific points in what will be a standard work. In terms of sources consulted, although an impressive number of books by and about journalists are included in the bibliography, the purely historical works consulted are far from satisfactory. Too many of them are badly outdated, and too many important studies are omitted. Furthermore, there is no evidence to suggest that the author pursued his research in archival sources.

Fortunately, the author's own wide knowledge of journalism and journalists makes this study a worthwhile book. Few scholars would be capable of matching Desmond's ability to integrate such a large amount of journalistic organization and activity into a clear synthesis. More important, he continues to develop in this study the significant conceptual framework for his subject that he began in previous volumes in this series. *Crisis and Conflict,* therefore, is a major contribution to the field of journalism history.

James D. Startt
Valparaiso University

An Alabama Newspaper Tradition: Grover C. Hall and the Hall Family. *By Daniel Webster Hollis III.* University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1983. 193 pp. Cloth, $19.95.

Journalists are tied to public life in a peculiar way. Their participation in public affairs, although vital, is often subtle and indirect. Their sense of professionalism requires at least the semblance of disengagement. Whether at the elbows or at the heels of public officials, they maintain a shadowy presence in the limelight, a few television stars notwithstanding.

Their relative anonymity is belied by their constant occupational brush with prominent figures (for other examples one is reminded of mistresses and lawyers). In this regard, their biographies can be too lightly regarded if it is supposed they are largely portraits of the near-famous. What is in the background makes all the difference: the other faces in the characteristically crowded life of the successful journalist and the swirl of events that huddle them into one man's career and lifetime.

Localism is another factor that narrows the fame of journalists. Journalism is still basically provincial work. The newspapering Halls of Alabama, for example, are obscure even by the standards of journalism. The most notable of the clan, the father and son tandem of Grover C. Hall and Grover Jr., were editors of the Montgomery *Advertiser* for fifty-six years between them, a not-quite-consecutive family tenure ending in 1966. Their laurels include one Pulitzer Prize for editorial writing for the father, a reputed near-miss for the

son, and journalism hall-of-fame status in Alabama. Outside the state, and particularly outside the South, the family Hall is probably about as familiar as the "valleys of Hall" lyricized by the regional poet Sidney Lanier with regard to the Chattahoochee. Such a comparison doesn't carry much meaning north of the hills of Habersham, and neither, regrettably, do the reputations of many of the South's fine newspapermen.

What interest the general reader will take in Hollis' biography of the Halls will derive from the rubbing of shoulders – Grover Hall Sr.'s with H. L. Mencken, Hugo Black, George Washington Carver, the Ku Klux Klan (which he opposed at its virulent height); or Grover Jr.'s connection with Martin Luther King and George Wallace. If the reader is more attuned to Alabama politics, he may savor bits on the likes of Big Jim Folsom or Lister Hill. If the book is read for political insight, however, the reader will need some knowledge of the state's recent history: he is introduced to, but not told the fate of the gubernatorial hopeful Ryan deGraffenreid, for example, nor will he find complete explanations for such curiosities as the administration of Lurleen Wallace.

Also of general interest is Hollis' sensitive handling of the intricacies of southern liberalism. In turbulent times past, the catchword that raised the passions of race even among progressive southerners was not the dogmatic epithet "nigger." It was the term "outsider." Hollis writes of the southern liberal's defensive attitude that drew him into combat, often at the side of the most diehard bigot: "The almost unanimous opinion of southern liberals was that only white southern liberals understood fully the racial dilemma and thus only they could effectively criticize the system and thereby ameliorate the plight of the black." The intruder as bogeyman haunted the South more uniquely as a cultural trait than racism, a factor exploited by newspapermen such as Grover Hall Jr. during the 1950s in editorials that pleaded a defense of the South based on exposing a perceived hypocrisy on the race issue in the North.

Peter L. Berger wrote in the preface of one of his works, "This book is intended to be read, not studied." Hollis' biography of the Hall family is rather more the reverse. It is a fine and perceptive work of scholarship by a professional and competent historian. But it is an account and not a story. At times it reads like a genealogy. It will offend no Hall by omission. The author frets in his preface of his "rather narrow focus." He might be faulted for the opposite. If two Halls manage to survive oblivion, that is perhaps enough for any family.

Douglas Birkhead
Louisiana State University

With a Shirt Tail Full of Type: The Story of Newspapering in South Dakota. *By Robert Karolevitz.* Brookings, South Dakota: South Dakota Press Association, 1982. 116 pp. n. p.

The South Dakota Press Association sponsored this history of newspapering from territorial days to the present as a centennial project. Fortunately, the

Association was able to call upon Bob Karolevitz to research and write it; he is a native of the state and began his journalistic career as a sports columnist with the Yankton Public Opinion, earning twenty-five cents per week. He took a degree in printing and rural journalism from South Dakota State College and later earned a master's degree in journalism from the University of Oregon. *With a Shirt Tail Full of Type* is his eighteenth book; among the others is *Newspapering in the Old West: A Pictorial History of Journalism and Printing on the Frontier.*

Karolevitz's background in printing (he also taught typography at the University of Minnesota) is evident in his newest book. It is a large format book (8½ X 11 pages) in double columns with legible 10-point type on a 12-point slug. The body copy is set in *Excelsior* on 70-pound stock.

The book is amply illustrated with large-size halftones and reproductions of art from the pages of the state's newspapers. It is a history in the visual as well as verbal sense, as many of the pictures obviously are collector's items, culled from scrapbooks held by journalists with a sense of pride in their history.

Karolevitz tells the story of South Dakota's press in generally chronological fashion, with a generous infusion of anecdotes. The account begins in 1859, 30 years before the Dakota Territory became the states of North and South Dakota, when the Democrat was published in Sioux Falls. Indian raids were still to be feared, and in 1862 the Santee Sioux stole the press, dumped it into the river, and melted down the type for use as inlays for their ceremonial pipes.

When gold was discovered in the Black Hills of western Dakota, the press moved with the prospectors, and newspapers such as the Black Hills Pioneer and the Deadwood *Daily Times* sold for a "pinch" of gold dust. The "Great Dakota Newspaper Boom" soon followed, with newspapers popping up everywhere, as Karolevitz says, "like pasque blossoms in the prairie springtime."

The editors themselves were a feisty lot, according to Karolevitz. He describes their competitive tempers in several anecdotes, relating how rival editors used words like "lickspittle," "toady," "wet nurse," and "pimp generalissimo" to describe one another.

Among the editors who helped develop the state's journalism are L. Frank Baum, who later wrote *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz;* Fred Hayden Carruth, who became a popular columnist for the New York *Tribune* and author of several books; and Samuel Travers Clover, who became editor of the Chicago *Evening Post.*

Karolevitz also devotes chapters to women journalists, technological development, immigrant newsmen, and humor in newspapers. But one of the most useful portions of the book is the section entitled, "Centennial Year Newspapers in Profile." In alphabetical order, all thirteen dailies and 141 weeklies still publishing are described in capsule histories.

Although *With a Shirt Tail Full of Type* is only 116 pages long, it is a substantial contribution to the history of South Dakota. Such a history would be a worthwhile project for the press associations of each state.

Whitney R. Mundt
Louisiana State University

As Good As Any: Foreign Correspondence on American Radio, 1930-1940. *By David H. Hosley.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984. 165 pp. Cloth, $27.95.

This book is a short, well-documented account of the origins and development of radio correspondence in Europe from 1937 to early 1941, written by a broadcasting professor with considerable radio experience.

Hosley's swift and incisive narrative opens with a context chapter detailing the evolution of international broadcasting. A series of firsts are described, starting with Marconi's historic 1901 transatlantic broadcast, and continuing through the first regular international shortwave broadcasts, the radio-newspaper war of 1931-34, the Berlin Olympics, and King Edward VIII's abdication in 1936. A useful sketch, the first chapter sets up the narrow focus of the next seven chapters. Ethical problems, as Hosley makes clear, beset international radio even in its early years. Network officials had to contend with how to handle public relations junkets, sponsors' vetoes of programming, politicos demanding fees, correspondents as doublers who gave information to the State Department. Other problems included whether to use recordings (when sunspots made live broadcasts impossible), how to handle women correspondents since the public reacted favorably to their voices, censorship difficulties, and the logistics of broadcasting during chaotic battle conditions.

The rest of the book, chapters two through eight, amounts to a brief, intense narrative of American broadcasting teams scrambling to cover and keep up with the epoch-making events leading to and including the early years of World War II. In a captivating blow-by-blow narrative, the events of Austrian annexation (Anschluss), the Munich Crisis, the invasion of Poland, the fall of Dunkirk, the fall of France, and the fire-bombing of England are covered.

As American interest in European events rose to feverish intensity, the news teams of NBC, CBS, and Mutual were expanded. At the time of the Munich Crisis CBS and NBC had a grand total of four radio correspondents in Europe. Yet each network did about 150 shortwave broadcasts of the crisis. Additionally, the crisis boosted the sales of radio receivers, the use of European news roundups, and the popularity of radio news.

After the invasion of Poland in autumn 1939, CBS's European correspondents grew to a dozen and NBC's to four, and Mutual also had correspondents. During various crises, reporting increased greatly, as did the use of news roundups and roundtables. Pegged to crises, the pattern of coverage was ebb and flow. CBS gained supremacy as a news network by virtue of concentrating on news. Heading its team from London was America's most popular and respected broadcaster, Edward R. Murrow. By the time of the London Blitz some 120 American radio and print correspondents were covering the war from England. Murrow had to convince English authorities he would not betray secrets to get permission to ad lib his arresting "actualities" from housetops during the London bombings. The account of the Battle of Britain, and of the dangers experienced by correspondents, makes gripping reading. Although partial to American and British interests, Murrow insisted that CBS correspondents play the news straight and emphasize "common man" appeal.

The book, although it repeats much commonly known material, reads as a searching attempt to piece together the early years of international broadcasting, giving emphasis to personalities and the technical constraints under which they operated. Many interviews were conducted, and a thorough bibliography was assembled. But the book suffers from a lack of perspective. The data so carefully reviewed are not summarized, nor is their significance assessed. The book stops abruptly in 1941 without offering a conclusion or any rationale as to the author's choice of an ending point.

In middle chapters the reader may weary of traipsing with correspondents from one chaotic crisis to another and of so many cameo profiles of assorted no-name correspondents. Needed are summary remarks in chapter introductions and conclusions to give the reader a sense of direction about the data. Missing are assessments and an explanatory design. For the reader not familiar with European geography, a map would help.

Hosley could be a bit more critical, too. He notes several times that American networks had a policy of playing European war news straight. Yet by the end of the book, when the narrative has narrowed to a focus exclusively on the London Blitz, correspondents are lionizing the courage of the British people and glorifying their struggle. The cause of Germany is ignored. Could such selected, one-sided treatment by American radio correspondents amount to cultural propaganda? A deeper and more penetrating dimension to Hosley's book would have been added had he included an analysis of the role of American radio correspondents as cheerleaders for the Anglo-American capitalist cause in what was essentially a great power struggle between expanding but colliding political blocs.

William Parmenter
University of Akron

American Magazines for the 1980s. *By William H. Taft.* New York: Hastings House, Publishers, 1982. Index. Paper, $24.95.

Magazines will celebrate the 250th anniversary of their existence in 1991. Since Andrew Bradford and Benjamin Franklin started the first American magazines in 1741, thousands of every variety have appeared. Some, like *Reader's Digest*, have gained millions of international readers.

The long, complex past of the magazine industry has made writing a complete history of the nation's magazines seemingly impossible for a single person. Although the late Frank Luther Mott filled five volumes in his Pulitzer Prize-winning study of American magazines, he had to stop with the 1930s. Well-known studies by James Playsted Wood and Theodore Peterson, while never intended to be as comprehensive, have added important dimensions to Mott's work.

Likewise does Professor Taft's book. In many ways it is a welcome update of Peterson's *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (1964). Presenting a panoramic view of the magazine industry in the early 1980s, Professor Taft offers condensed historical profiles of over 650 publications, with occasional longer descriptions and analyses. Starting with the "big three" – circulation

leaders *TV Guide, Reader's Digest,* and *National Geographic* – he organizes his material by subject, including chapters on such magazine types as: news and opinion, business, women's, men's, home and shelter, religious, sports, and media. Wisely, he refrains from directing too much attention at individual magazine personnel, for as he notes, the magazine world is "too mobile" to allow a useful *Who's Who.*

Because he chose to emphasize the magazines that carry ads, Professor Taft excludes the "literary and little" publications – the small reviews, and the club, association, and fraternal magazines, all of which operate on faith, hope, and charity. His aim, after all, was not to provide information about *all* magazines, but rather to "awaken the general public to the complex magazine world with its thousands of publications regularly seeking sufficient audiences to supply the needed revenue from advertising and subscriptions for survival." Thus solid chapters on the state of industry research, production and disribution, and advertising and circulation provide a useful context for earlier, largely descriptive chapters.

Professor Taft, who recently retired from the University of Missouri School of Journalism, where he taught history for twenty-five years and directed the graduate program, has written a book most likely to fill a need in basic magazine history classes. As an introduction to the magazine industry, it would also be a good choice as collateral reading in undergraduate magazine management and writing classes.

Nancy L. Roberts
University of Minnesota

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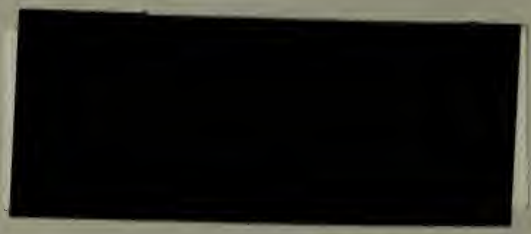

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Editor's Note

We are pleased to announce that *American Journalism* will increase its publication frequency to four times yearly beginning with the first issue of Volume III (1986). Increases in the number of superior article manuscripts and continuing increases in subscriptions make quarterly publication not only feasible but desirable. The new publishing schedule will make possible a more timely publication of book reviews and reduce the length of time between a manuscript's acceptance and its publication. Subscription rates will not affect members' dues in the American Journalism Historians Association.

The review process for manuscripts remains rigorous, assuring that articles published in *American Journalism* are among the best scholarship being done in the field of mass communication. Despite the rigor, authors can expect to have manuscripts accepted if they address a significant topic, are based on thorough research in original sources, and are written with a cohesive structure and a clear and interesting style. Readers' and editors' critiques of manuscripts are designed to assist authors in constructing solid and important articles which contribute significantly to the discipline of media history.

American Journalism feels an obligation not only to provide authors with constructive reviews but to do so promptly. It attempts to provide authors with decisions on publication within two months after a manuscript has been submitted. Once accepted, manuscripts are published within a year.

The title *American Journalism* should not be considered to exclude articles that do not deal with newspaper journalism in the United States. The editors welcome and encourage submissions of manuscripts on all topics related to media history.

The Image of the Advertising Practitioner as Presented in the Mass Media, 1900-1972

By Lynda M. Maddox and Eric J. Zanot

The image of the American advertising practitioner has long been a popular subject in American media. In the early 1900s the "adman" was already being described as "good-looking," "lavish," and "optimistic."[1] Although some of this positive image would remain in the media portrayals, there was a change reflecting alterations in society, the economy, and the culture. Moreover, the media expanded their coverage of the advertising practitioner; he became the subject of a number of novels, plays, television series, and articles. Psychologists and medical doctors have written about the mental and physical maladies of the people who work in advertising suggesting that the "adman" is somehow different from the rest of society.

Along the way, the image became more tarnished, especially with the era of consumerism. The changed image prompted concern among industry personnel about the calibre of individuals attracted to the field and about the professional status of advertising.[2]

This article chronicles the media development of the image of the advertising practitioner from the early 1900s to the early 1970s as portrayed in articles in popular magazines and books and in professional journals. The historical portrayal reflected social, cultural, and economic factors that may have contributed to the decline of the image. The image presented in the mass media was not all fact. Much of it was stereotyped.

The Image of the Early Adman – 1900-1920

Although crude forms of advertising were found throughout history,

ERIC J. ZANOT (Ph.D., University of Illinois) is an associate professor in the College of Journalism at the University of Maryland, where he heads the advertising sequence. His publications have appeared in *Journalism Monographs, Journalism Quarterly*, and other journals.

LYNDA M. MADDOX (Ph.D.) is an associate professor in the School of Government and Business Administration at George Washington University. Her publications have appeared in *Journalism Quarterly* and other journals.

American advertising as we know it developed with the Industrial Revolution of the late 1800s. Between 1900 and 1950 the status of advertising evolved and changed, and so did the image of its employees. During prosperous times the image often was glamorous; but even at his best, the "adman" was described as "shrewd." During times of anti-big business sentiment, shrewdness was translated as immorality.

The image of the advertising practitioner suffered early due to a strong liaison between the advertising industry and the patent medicine industry. One advertising historian noted, "Patent medicine was a rich and voluptuous Jezebel that taught advertising to put away its childish things and seek out its full powers."[3]

A muckraking journalist of 1907 commented on the advertisers' skills:

> ...every device must be employed to increase retailing to the customer. If a man has no ailment, *he must be taught to think he has one*. If he has recovered from an ailment, he must forsooth thereupon be made fat or thin...In short, healthy folks are taught to become hypochondriacs. All this merely to furnish a brisk market when selling has grown languid.[4]

Between 1905 and 1915, the Progressive party grew, and its anti-big business sentiment was embraced by much of "middle America." Advertising people became aware of a negative image that spun out of this feeling. In 1912, for instance, the president of the Associated Advertising Clubs of America described admen as "pariahs." In a speech to his peers, he called for the day when "the fraud and the faker in advertising will exist chiefly as relics in a museum" when "advertising men will...be more fully recognized as ministers of the public good...always promoting the interests of others...."[5]

By 1919, his prophecy seemed to be well-founded. The mood of the post-war period was one of prosperity and gaiety. Assembly line industry grew. Advertising was said by one historian to help promote "the revolution of rising expectations," and advertising practitioners "seem to have convinced the American public that to make money and spend it is the good life."[6] The advertising man was called the "*enfant terrible* of the time, unabashed before the eternities. Even war needs him, to say nothing of Swift and Company."[7]

It was during the post-war period that the media began to idolize the "Advertising Man." One article described him as:

> ...the genius of America...usually young, good-looking, sartorially perfect, with sleek hair and parti-colored shoes. Consciousness of the eminence of his position in American business has made him as complacent as Douglas Fairbanks. He does not conceal his awareness of the fact that he is the cornerstone of the most respectable American institutions; the newspapers and magazines depend on him; Literature and Journalism are his hand-maidens. His is the Fifth Estate....James Cabell speaks with accuracy of the Great American Weekly which prints fiction among its advertisements. Yet for all his dignity, the advertising man is a good fellow none the less. At lunch time he

> is lavish and fluent, fecund in anecdote. He is on the right side of things, the optimistic side. He has no use for morbidity, irregularity. He is as patriotic as George M. Cohan. Usually he is married and does not conceal from you the fact that his salary is twice that of the President of the University from which he didn't graduate, since he deserted academic maunderings for the actualities.[8]

The 1920s

This dapper happy-go-lucky image continued with the prosperity of the 1920s. Advertising expenditures grew to unprecedented levels, and the mass media attributed much of business's success to advertising.[9] *American Mercury*, a popular magazine, ran a portrait of the advertising agent as part of a serial on careers. The advertising man, it said, was moving in prestigious circles:

> On rare occasions one may hear the term genius applied to a surgeon, a movie actress, or a chess player. But scarcely a half-hour ever passes at the luncheon table of advertising men that it is not fastened gaily upon some exalted wizard of the guild. Another favorite word of the brotherhood is creative.[10]

The media clearly were developing an image of the advertising man. Not only was he given personal attributes such as "creative" or "genius," but he was given physical and social characteristics. He was handsome, debonair, fashionable, intelligent, and aware.[11] Moreover, he was usually considered "a college graduate two or three years removed from the elms, with no notion of what to do with himself in life, a hazy taste for English composition and unlimited enthusiasm."[12]

Although advertising was still largely a man's profession, agency women also were beginning to gain a media reputation as "easy to look at – gentle of manner – with just sufficient sparkle, repartee, to keep a man, an agency man, up to the mark. Glowing cheeks, and moist dewy eyes."[13] These positive images of advertising practitioners generally remained until the Depression, although some criticism did occur at the end of the 1920s as consumer groups began to emerge. Stuart Chase and F.J. Schlink, who were to be active in the consumer movements of the 1930s, were among the first to find fault with admen. As early as 1925, Chase expressed concern at the large number of people employed in a profession that he did not consider a "productive occupation."[14]

By 1927 Chase and Schlink had become even more vehement in their attacks. They charged the adman with using emotionalism, magic, and half-truths to sell sometimes worthless products. They were among the first to attach negative psychological characteristics to the advertising executive:

> ...for executives, particularly those connected with the selling end, it has many of the qualities of an exhilarating game. How to catch the buyer's interest, how to hold that interest, how to

> follow up and how to close, how to break down sales resistance with keener and more shattering blows than one's competitor can break it. To this end, color, laughter, tears, love, fear, envy, pity, the home, the flag, modesty, ambition--upon what string shall not the salesman play; what emotion in the human heart shall he leave sacred; what magic shall he not weave?[15]

Still, times were good, and the media jumped to the defense of advertising agents who "sometimes" indulged in "myopic exaggeration."[16] According to Oliver Johns writing in *American Mercury*, so, too, did "statesmen, school teachers, doctors of philosophy, Chatauqua orators, after-dinner speakers, and Presidents of Chambers of Commerce."[17]

The 1930s

The day of the popular adman was to be shortlived. Raymond Bauer and Stephen Greyser noted a growing dissatisfaction with advertising after the economic collapse of the 1930s.[18] With discontent about advertising came criticisms of the advertising practitioner. A bestseller entitled *100,000,000 Guinea Pigs* described the advertising man as "hoodwinking" and poisoning the general public with "a few borrowed phrases and faked photographs."[19]

Consumer-oriented writers such as Schlink and Kallet were not the only ones to find fault with the adman's morals. Some advertising executives such as H.A. Batten admitted that during times of economic crisis admen were not always as honest as they should have been.[20]

The 1930s also witnessed the birth of the "dropout" adman. One wrote an article entitled "I Was an Adman Once" and the book *Our Master's Voice*. James Rorty's experience in the business led him to write that in advertising there were "no heroes, and the villains (had) a way of turning into victims under one's eyes."[21] He suggested the need to "breed a special kind of alleged human" who can survive in the advertising world.

This negative portrayal of advertising and its practitioners continued throughout the 1930s. Although articles were not numerous, nearly all were negative in tone. Only one article mentioned advertising as a possible career choice, but it warned of low job security.[22]

The 1940s

The early 1940s saw a slight improvement in the media image of advertising. Articles were informative and rather noncommital portraits of life in the advertising world.[23] America was fast approaching a new crisis that would dispel criticism of both advertising men and their trade. Advertising that helped the war effort was hard to criticize.[24] Furthermore, many products were not available, and those that were often were rationed.

When new products began to emerge at the end of World War II, advertising began to expand, as did criticisms of advertising practitioners. Memories of the Depression seemed to be too clear to revive the popular image that admen enjoyed after World War I.

In 1946, Frederic Wakeman, a former advertising man, wrote *The*

Hucksters.[25] This best-seller, later made into a motion picture, created an image "which has continued to plague those who work in advertising."[26] "Huckster" became synonymous with "advertising man," and Wakeman set a trend that would continue to the 1970s. *Advertising Age* pointed out that during the decade after the book numerous others concurred with the "cut-throat, high-pressure, amoral world which Mr. Wakeman saw as the advertising business."[27] Wakeman's book began:

> Business was good. The announcer reminded him of the hucksters who used to shout their vegetables in the streets of Fort Madison. Huckster--that was a good name for an advertising man. A high-class huckster who had a station wagon instead of a push cart.[28]

Even religious magazines offered commentary on the advertising man, with one suggesting that a young man might lose "his straight-thinking mind--and possibly his immortal soul" in the business. The typical adman was quite "easy to pick out":

> He will certainly be the best-dressed, and on the surface, the most forceful personality. Others will listen to his facile talk with admiration and possibly envy, for he is a past master in selling himself. But, he can no more relax than can the dummy in a shop window. It is all but impossible for him to be himself because his success is built on the discard of his intrinsically truth-seeking self and the acquisition of this 100% charming and so convincing personality. He is no longer a man, but an advertisement of a man, and so fundamentally fallacious as any blatant full-color spread in your favorite magazine.

But all his faults were not without retribution. Nervous breakdowns and chronic alcoholism were two common occupational hazards since "...the mind cannot serve two masters. Those who give their working lives to the exacting service of the 'father of lies' will, of necessity, bear his mark of identifying falsification in every tissue of their being."[29]

The 1940s did not produce great numbers of articles about the adman, but those that did appear seemed to color the opinion of the entire decade. By the end of the 1940s the unpopular image of the advertising practitioner was well on its way to becoming a media stereotype.

The Modern Adman--1950s

After World War II advertising became more prevalent and more skilled in the "techniques of public persuasion."[30] Critics of advertising grew more vehement, and advertising practitioners were charged with brainwashing and manipulating the public.

The 1950s brought a renewed media interest in the "huckster" about whom Frederic Wakeman had written. Although admen sometimes were described in the media in a manner reminiscent of the post-World War I era, there was

an absence of the affection that had appeared earlier. According to one article in the early 1950s, "...the New York agency man works in and lives his working hours in an actual never-never land, a Dream World for Men."[31] Pictured in front of Brooks Brothers' Clothing Store, buying imported English shoes, the best tobacco, offbeat but expensive sports equipment, the dapper image was set. The huckster earned another label: the man in the gray flannel suit. A feature article in *Holiday* magazine described the Madison Avenue Man:

> Madison Man is exemplified by a tailored insouciance. He is not genuine if he can walk more than one block without meeting an acquaintance. For the most part, except for an allowingly eccentric fringe serving radio, their hues will be unobtrusive, sacrificing immediate splendor to the subtler dignity of conservative style. A cornflower may adorn a button hole, but the tie will probably be sincere.[32]

The classic 1950s type setting of the advertising man appeared in Sloan Wilson's novel and motion-picture, *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*. But the story of the struggling writer who falls into advertising's clutches appeared in a number of articles. His clothing, manner, drinking habits, and even his home in a Connecticut suburb became identifying trademarks.[33] Titles such as "Madison Avenue Jungle, Admen and Madmen" and *The Big Ball of Wax* exemplified the sentiment expressed throughout the media.[34] As more women entered the profession, they became the subjects of such titles as *Good Time Girl*, *The Joys She Chose*, and *Kate in Advertising*.[35]

Talk about advertising's use of motivational research sparked more criticisms of advertising people. Perhaps the most condemning document was Vance Packard's *The Hidden Persuaders*.[36] R.A. Bauer and S.A. Greyser called Packard's book a "diatribe against the unseen manipulators of our national consumer heritage."[37] Others wrote about "Freud and the Hucksters" and suggested that the advertising business was like a disease that turned men into hucksters.[38]

The increasing concern about the psychological manipulation of consumers perpetuated the negative image of advertising practitioners. Madison Avenue was described as "wickeder than Wall Street, funnier than Flatbush Avenue."[39]

Advertising people began to notice and express concern over the developing media image. One said, "You know, it's too bad. The reputation of the advertising business seems to be deteriorating--on the popular level, anyway. It's gotten to be smart to poke fun at advertising and to refer to us as hucksters."[40] One advertising agency opted not to use the word "advertising" on its letterhead, feeling that the term had fallen into disfavor.[41] "Madison Avenue's citizens (had) a common characteristic – touchy feelings where public opinion (was) concerned," according to one author.[42] He hypothesized that advertising's new association with politics in the 1956 presidential campaign may have strengthened the negative tone.

Another possible reason for the continuation of the negative image could have been the emergence of non-fiction written by former advertising

practitioners. The *Clowns of Commerce* by Walter Goodman described the "shallow and tricky water" of the individual who "crams his soul into a tube of toothpaste."[43] Martin Mayer's *Madison Avenue U.S.A.*, while more complimentary of advertising, nonetheless described a unique community of individuals who had a "strange blend of assertion and obedience, prosperity and insecurity, flamboyance and timidity."[44] Mayer said that admen, unlike other professionals, must resort to using "servility with flattery and boastfulness with scorn," creating a "nervous, overworked and overstimulated internal society."[45]

Thus the adman emerged from the 1950s with much the same image as when he entered it, but the image was reinforced slightly more in the public's mind.

The 1960s

The growing concern with consumerism in the 1960s prompted an even more uncomplimentary picture of the adman. The number of articles increased along with reports to admen in their own trade publications.

Fairfax M. Cone, president of Foote, Cone, and Belding advertising agency, tried to explain the negative image by saying, "Advertising people, like all the rest, rarely make news except by their deviations from what most people consider fair and thoughtful practice."[46] Yet few other professions suffered the same criticisms from the mass media.

Peter Bart, writing in *Saturday Review*, compared the advertising business with other professions:

> Though ad agencies have been around for nearly a century, admen have never really found their place in the broad spectrum of professional and quasi-professional services. The banker and the lawyer have surrounded themselves with an aura of professionalism, but admen continue to labor in a work environment that is often nothing short of demeaning.[47]

Bart saw little hope for most admen, who he felt believed their future depended upon the brand of cigarettes they smoked.[48]

Popular magazines also were reporting a "rumble on Madison Avenue."[49] Prominent Americans spoke out against advertising.[50] The television quiz show scandals increased unfavorable opinion about admen and encouraged efforts in some states to tax advertising.[50] *Saturday Review* began a regular feature column, "Madison Avenue."[51] One periodical, reporting on the advertising world, called it "Pink Smoke."[52] *Newsweek* reported admen's concern over "The Image Maker's Image."[53]

Trade publications also discussed the negative image. Ralph Vines, an advertising copywriter, noted that four books had contributed to the public image of the advertising man: *The Hucksters*, *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*, *Madison Avenue, U.S.A.*, and *The Hidden Persuaders*. Vines lamented the adman's image, saying: "Now, in addition to being overpaid, opportunistic, ethic dwarfs, we are reputed in the *Hidden Persuaders* to be stationed inside the skull of the consumer taking notes--and taking unfair advantage of him."[54]

Another author drew the following stereotypical media portrayal of advertising people at work:

> Job description: Sit out the morning impatiently waiting for a martini lunch, a ripe cliche in each thin stemmed glass. Return to the office. Eye the undulating secretary until 5 p.m. Knock off a fast pick-up at the station bar. Finally board the early express to a select suburb.[55]

An advertising trade article recounted the sorry state of the adman's marriage according to the mass media:

> Readers, avid and not-so-avid, of the recent spate of second-rate novels about advertising are well-acquainted with the advertising executive as an oft-married, martini-guzzling lecher, whose lack of interest in his dowdy suburban wife and forgotten family is clearly demonstrated by the frequency with which he chooses to live it up in town rather than catch the 6:02.[56]

Cleverly written accounts of life in advertising continued to increase in the mid-1960s with tales of high pay and low morals.[57] Joseph Seldin, in *The Golden Fleece*, summarized seven points about the adman's image: "(1) fast living, (2) big spending, (3) women chasing, (4) con men, (5) wear nothing but gray flannel, (6) sell nothing but soap, (7) do it all through unscientific means, e.g. hunches and off the top of the head decisions."[58]

Nicholas Samstag, a former public relations man, commented that "every member of the advertising establishment spends most of his working hours concocting half-truths and then trying to distribute them as widely and as persuasively as possible."[59] The adman, according to Samstag, soon forgot what truth is, thus affecting his work, his home, his family, and his friends.

Thus, by the end of the 1960s the trend was solidified. Magazines and motion-pictures presented the public with an evil image. Second-rate novels chose admen as their villains; admen were writing damaging testimonials about their lives in the business.[60]

The Early 1970s

The early 1970s produced a wide array of books, articles, motion-pictures, and even a television series about the advertising man. One, with the all inclusive title, *The Advertising Man*, gave a typical view of the life of an adman through the eyes of scores of second-rate novelists:

> *The Advertising Man* is Jim Bower's story. It is the story of one man's desperate attempt to survive in a dog-eat-dog world. A world where money is the magic word and morals don't exist. Where your job always comes first and your family second – even if it means losing everything.[61]

Best sellers such as Elia Kazan's *The Arrangement* presented similar

portrayals. Like its earlier counterpart, *The Hucksters*, Kazan's novel was made into a motion picture and presented the advertising executive as a frustrated conniver, turned alcoholic and neurotic, who attempted to commit suicide and ended up in a mental sanitarium. At one point the beautiful mistress reminded him that he no longer was capable of telling the truth, and she taunted him with the line, "It must kill you to think what you might have been..."[62]

Although not intended as an attack on advertising practitioners, a popular television comedy series which began in the late 1960s gave the viewer a vague feeling that the adman was more concerned with money than the quality of his work or his friendships. Nearly every week in "Bewitched" Darrin Stevens was fired by Larry Tate, his best friend and boss, who would do anything to please the client and save an account.[63] The viewer often was left to suspect that one actually needed a witch for a wife if he wanted to keep his job in advertising. A more recent series, "One Day at a Time," featured a young divorcee who worked for an advertising/public relations firm. It was not unusual humor for the boss to suggest that the female employees should wear sexy dresses to impress the client.

As the image becomes ever more prevalent, some sources suggested that advertising people were heeding their critics. *Business Week* reported: "Admen are listening to criticism these days for any number of reasons. For one thing, many of them have accepted 'consumerism' as a worthwhile movement, rather than as simply an attack on big business itself."[64] Other admen started agencies to handle only consumer-oriented products or public affairs.[65]

The efforts did not seem to change the negative image in the media. E.B. Weiss, a long-time opinion leader in advertising, stated that advertising was viewed almost as the last vocational choice by the top twenty percent of campus talent: "...precisely the talent advertising now needs more urgently than ever..."[66] Walter Weir expressed the same fear, reporting that among new college graduates advertising was low on the list of career choices. There was also a high drop-out rate among young advertising professionals in their twenties.[67]

If the adman's prestige was low, it was not surprising. Articles warned, "George, Be Careful" of advertising.[68] Another spoke of "Madison Avenue's Travail."[69] Still another referred to the adman as "The Man With the Split Level Head."[70]

Trade publications indicated that the adman was painfully aware of his image. Asked to describe it, one international adman said:

> Certainly it is nearer sinner than saint. He is quick witted--a bit too quick perhaps. He is master of the "neon" lie--adept at putting a gloss over anything. Venal in his "get rich quick by a trick" chicanery. Brash, vulgar, obsessed with sex (who isn't?), overpaid, overfed, and oversexed.[71]

The adman's personal life had changed little by the 1970s. He still was portrayed as fitting an earlier image: "handsome bachelor, jazzy dresser, frequenter of all the 'in' places, attuned to all the new sounds and sights,

gourmet cook, owner of a swinging pad with a terrific view and hot and cold running girls."[72]

While advertising practitioners sometimes tried to dismiss the image as stereotypical, other admen continued to add validity to the stereotype. Samm Sinclair Baker's *The Permissible Lie* was a vindictive attack on advertising by a man who had been in the business for thirty years. Paul Stevens, of Dancer-Fitzgerald-Sample advertising agency, began his testimonial, *I Can Sell You Anything*, with the following uncomplimentary profile:

> (This book) is not a collection of marvelously witty anecdotes about all the swell guys in the ad game, mostly because there are no swell guys in the ad game. They are a group of cold, hard-nosed businessmen who happen to have your number.[73]

Former agency executive, Edward Buxton, instructed young advertising practitioners to "have a little larceny in your soul" to succeed in advertising.[74] His suggestions included mentioning colleagues' mistakes or faults in front of management to make oneself look better. Even the title, *Promise Them Anything*, was descriptive of the book's tone.

Perhaps the most extreme case of the drop-out adman involved an advertising executive who quit the business to become a minister. His views seemed to sum up the general tone of th : adman's self-portrait:

> In those rare moments when I relaxed enough to analyze the worth of what I was doing, I was haunted by the spectre of a lifetime spent in urging people to run right out to their corner drugstores to buy what I was not inwardly convinced would do them any good in the first place. For so long as I could work on the assumption that getting results was the measure of my work, so long as I could restrict my thinking to the level of techniques and remain unconcerned with ethics, I was safe. In those rare moments when this rationalization grew thin, I was in danger of falling through the ice into a chilly sea of question and doubt with which I was unable to cope.[75]

Jerry Della Femina's book *From Those Wonderful Folks Who Gave You Pearl Harbor* probably reached more public eyes than any of the other "adman testimonials." Written with a slightly comical air, it verified nearly every part of the unpopular image of the adman. At one point, Della Femina said, "*The Hucksters* wasn't all that far from the truth."[76]

Through the years the media image of the advertising practitioner became more solidified and more negative. Moreover, the media paid more and more attention to the "adman," making the image more prevalent. The image was confirmed by former advertising people. Thus, the image of the adman presented through the media became part of American lore in the Twentieth Century.

NOTES

[1]S.N. Behrman, "Advertising Man," *New Republic* (Aug. 20, 1919).

[2]"How Do You Sell Advertising to Today's 'Critical' Youth?" *Advertising Age* (June 19, 1967), p. 84.

[3]Frank Rowsome, *They Laughed When I Sat Down* (New York, 1959), p. 44.

[4]J.M. Taylor, M.D., "Drug Abuses, Their Effects on the People," *Popular Science* (May 1907), p. 463.

Further examples of this condemnation can be found in articles by such patent medicine muckrakers as Samuel Hopkins Adams and Mark Sullivan, who wrote between 1900 and 1915.

[5]M. Hesseberger, "Even in 1912 Ad People Felt Like Pariahs," *Advertising Age* (April 3, 1972), p. 12.

[6]S.E. Morison, *The Oxford History of the American People* (New York, 1965), p. 892.

[7]Behrman, p. 85. [8]Ibid.

[9]R.A. Bauer and S.A. Greyser, *Advertising in America: The Consumer View* (Boston, 1968), p. 7.

[10]Oliver Johns, "American Portraits; the Advertising Agent," *American Mercury* (August 1924), p. 448.

[11]Ibid. [12]Ibid.

[13]M.F. Nickell, "Life Among the Advertising Agencies," *Bookman* (October 1927), p. 163.

[14]Stuart Chase, *The Tragedy of Waste* (New York, 1925), p. 113.

[15]S. Chase and F.J. Schlink, *Your Money's Worth* (New York, 1927), pp.2-3

[16]Johns, p. 449. [17]Ibid.

[18]Bauer and Greyser, pp. 9-10.

[19]Arthur Kallet and F.J. Schlink, *100,000,000 Guinea Pigs* (New York, 1933), p. 178.

[20]H.A. Batten, "Advertising Man Looks at Advertising," *Atlantic*, (July 1932), p. 53.

[21]James Rorty, "I Was An Adman Once," *New Republic* (Jan. 25, 1933), p. 291.

[22]S. Burt, "So You're Thinking of Advertising? Advertising Business as a Possible Future Career," *Scholastic* (April 2, 1938), p. 8.

[23]Typical articles that the reader may consult are: W.T. Chevalier, "American Institution," *Business Week* (March 2, 1940), p. 55; and R. Thruelsen, "Men at Work: Advertising Agency Executive," *Saturday Evening Post* (May 24, 1941), pp. 22-23.

[24]The following articles provide excellent discussions of advertising and the war effort: "Advertising and the War," *Time* (March 22, 1943), p. 68; and D. Nelson, "More on Advertising in Uniform; Place in the War Effort," *Business Week* (Nov. 21, 1942), p. 127.

[25]Frederic Wakeman, *The Hucksters* (New York, 1946).

[26]"Novels of the Past Decade Paint Lurid Ad World," *Advertising Age* (Oct. 8, 1956), p. 2.

[27]Ibid. [28]Wakeman, p. 45.

[29]V.C. Constante, "So Your Boy Wants to be an Advertising Man," *Catholic World* (January 1949), pp. 310-311.

[30]Bauer and Greyser, p. 13.

[31]"Madison Avenue," *Holiday* (April 1950), p. 137.

[32]Ibid., pp. 136-137.

[33]See Stephen Birmingham, "The Minstrels of Madison Avenue," *Holiday* (December 1957), p. 81.

[34]David Cort, "Madison Avenue Jungle, Admen and Madmen," *Nation* (June 23, 1956), pp. 523-526; and Shepherd Mead, *The Big Ball of Wax* (New York, 1954).

[35]Representative second-rate novels include J. Kirk, *Build-Up Boys*; S. Kauffman, *Philanderer*; A. Barton, *Kate in Advertising*.

[36]Vance Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders* (New York, 1963). Original edition was published in New York by David McKay in 1957.

[37]Bauer and Greyser, p. 13.

[38]Ralph Goodman, "Freud and the Hucksters," *Nation* (Feb. 14, 1953), pp. 143-145; (March 14, 1953), pp. 235-236.

[39]Birmingham, pp. 80-81.

[40]Ibid., p. 81. [41]Ibid., p. 162.

[42]See Ernest Haveman, "Turbulent Time for the Advertising Business," *Life* (April 28, 1958), pp. 142-144.

[43]Walter Goodman, *The Clowns of Commerce* (New York, 1957), p. 19.

[44]Martin Mayer, *Madison Avenue U.S.A.* (New York), pp. 323-324.

[45]Ibid., p. 324.

[46]"The Adman's Adman," *Newsweek* (April 10, 1961), p. 80.

[47]Peter Bart, "Status Seekers in Advertising," *Saturday Review* (Madison Avenue Column) (March 9, 1963), p. 58.

[48]Ibid., p. 58.

[49]"Rumble on Madison Avenue: Attitude of Prominent Americans Toward Advertising," *Time* (Oct. 20, 1961), pp. 83-84.

[50]Bauer and Greyser, p. 14.

[51]Bart, p. 58, for example.

[52]"Pink Smoke," *Nation* (Feb. 25, 1961), p. 158.

[53]"Image Maker's Image," *Newsweek* (May 6, 1963), p. 71.

[54]"Is It True What They Say About Admen?" *Advertising Age* (July 11, 1960), p. 104.

[55]Sherman E. Rogers, "Finding the Right People for Advertising," *Printer's Ink* (July 28, 1961), p. 47.

[56]"Do Admen Make Good Mates?" *Printer's Ink* (July 28, 1961), p. 47.

[57]See, for example, "Agency Life: Less Fun Today," *Printer's Ink* (June 15, 1962), pp. 31-33; and "Long Suffering Adman: Cartoons," *Sponsor* (Feb. 22, 1965), p. 50.

[58]Joseph Seldin, *The Golden Fleece* (New York, 1965), pp. 6-7.

[59]Nicholas Samstag, *Bamboozled* (New York, 1966), p. 97.

[60]For another non-fiction work in the same vein, the reader may consult *Off Madison Avenue* by Daniel G. Lyon.

[61]Jack Dillon, *The Advertising Man* (Greenwich, 1973).

[62]Quote taken from the motion picture "The Arrangement," Warner Brothers, 1970. (From the novel by Elia Kazan).

[63]Reference is to television serial of the late 1960s, "Bewitched," Screen Gems Production.

[64]"Madison Avenue's Response to its Critics," *Business Week* (June 10, 1970), pp. 46-54.

[65]J. Zeigler, "Adman Battles Societies' Ills," *Business Week* (Sept. 11, 1971), p. 108.

[66]Marion Stephenson, "Blind People Do Not Fear Snakes, Advertising: Is It Legal, Moral, Ethical?" *Vital Speeches* (July 15, 1971), pp. 583-586.

[67]Walter Weir, "Musical Chairs," *Saturday Review* (Madison Avenue Column) (Dec. 13, 1969), p. 74.

[68]"George, Be Careful," *Esquire* (October 1972), pp. 146-149.

[69]"Madison Avenue's Travail," *Time* (Feb. 7, 1972), p. 75.

[70]E.A. Jones, "The Man With the Split-Level Head: Advertising and the American Consumer," *Editor and Publisher* (March 5, 1966), p. 18.

[71]John G. Wynne-Williams, "Adman – Saint or Sinner?" *International Advertiser* (Winter 1972), p. 19.

[72]"The Sweet, Sweet Life of Bachelor Admen," *Marketing/Communications* (December 1967), pp. 28-36.

[73]Paul Stevens, *I Can Sell You Anything* (New York, 1972), p. 3.

[74]Edward Buxton, *Promise Them Anything* (New York, 1972).

[75]E. Jerry Walker, "Why I Fell Off the Flagpole," *Advertising Age* (April 30, 1962), pp. 81-82.

[76]Jerry Della Femina, *From Those Wonderful Folks Who Gave You Pearl Harbor* (New York, 1972), p. 85.

American Women In Magazine Cartoons

By Foy Lisenby

Themes used by magazine cartoonists seem to reflect the attitudes and ideas of the people who read the magazines. Certainly cartoon editors when purchasing cartoons want to choose the gags which they believe appeal to readers.

If cartoons reflected public attitudes during 1930-1960, the large number of Americans who chuckled at magazine cartoon humor held some very unflattering stereotyped views of American women.[1] Females were dumb, scatterbrained, preoccupied with clothes, fashions, and domestic concerns. They talked too much, spent money foolishly, and crumpled car fenders.

Of course men also came in for plenty of ribbing by cartoonists, and stereotypes of various professions and character types often appeared in magazine cartoons. However, the male of the species *as a whole* was not ridiculed so sharply, nor made to act so silly. It is not possible to scan the cartoons of *Collier's*, *Saturday Evening Post*, and other wide-circulation magazines[2] and acquire the impression that American men invariably could be counted on to make stupid statements and do stupid things.

An examination of several hundred cartoons about women in the period 1930-1960 reveals that cartoonists and editors believed that poking fun at women had widespread appeal. In 1944 *Collier's* and *Saturday Evening Post* had circulations of 2,800,000 and 3,300,000;[3] therefore we might suspect that large numbers of Americans shared the stereotyped views reflected in the cartoons. Stereotypes frequently appearing were the following:

1. the incompetent woman driver
2. the reckless spender
3. the talkative, gossipy woman
4. the unpredictable, indecisive, hyper-emotional female
5. the woman of limited understanding of public affairs or of culture

The popularity of the woman driver type of gag was so great that the *Post* had a semi-cartoon cover depicting a woman driver at a toll booth, blocking

FOY LISENBY (Ph.D., Vanderbilt University) is a professor of history at the University of Central Arkansas.

traffic while she fumbled in her purse for coins.[4] A frequent cliche was the housewife who was always smashing into the garage. In a *Post* cartoon the wife told her husband: "George, you'll have to do something about the rear end of the garage; it's getting so weak it just barely stops me."[5]

According to cartoonists, women seemed to have little sense of responsibility in money matters. A housewife modeling a fur coat for visitors remarked,"We traded in an old bank account for it."[6] In another gag the angry husband held a bill in his hand and glowered at his wife, who said, "You finally noticed my new hat."[7] A pre-Christmas cartoon showed the husband whispering to Santa Claus about his wife and daughter: "Don't make too many rash promises. They *both* believe in you."[8]

The talkativeness of women was a frequent source of cartoon humor. In one gag a young woman told a friend about her club: "We had to cut our club down to *four* to give us *all* a chance to talk."[9] (The cartoonist undoubtedly had in mind an all-woman organization.) Another cartoon showed a lady knitting while conversing with the minister. She told him that the knitting "gives me something to think about when I'm talking."[10] Being gabby did not necessarily mean that women were good conversationalists; one cartoon had a man seated at dinner between two women, saying to one of them, "No, but I wish I had a good one to read right now."[11] In the 1940s, *Collier's* published a number of patriotic messages illustrated by cartoons. Some warned against "loose talk" which might aid the enemy and depicted the talkative woman as a symbol of such careless gabbing.[12]

Some cartoons conveyed the idea that women are unpredictable. A *Post* gag in 1940 showed two women waiting to vote in an election. One told her friend, "I voted for a Republican on three straw votes and four surveys, so this time I'll vote for a Democrat."[13] Indecisiveness on the part of women was revealed in a *Post* cartoon in which a woman scrutinized the furniture in a room, while her husband talked to someone over the telephone. The husband, hot and tired, said, "I don't know whether I can make that meeting tonight or not, Joe – it depends on how the big chair looks in the corner by the window."[14] As for women's alleged tendency toward emotional instability, a *New Yorker* gag depicted it as follows: a man playing checkers with his wife told her, "Now, before I move, will you promise not to burst into tears?"[15]

In her preoccupation with furniture, hats, gossip, and other topics supposedly in her "sphere," the cartoon woman was, or pretended to be, pretty much "at sea" when discussing or dealing with matters which only men could understand and cope with. In a cartoon of the 1930s a wealthy man told a friend that he had not informed his wife about the depression. "She would have worried," he said.[16] A 1940 cartoon had one woman telling another that in the event of an emergency, the government would call out the Federal Reserve.[17]

A variation on the theme of women's ignorance of important issues was the ridicule of women who attempted, although ineffectually, to understand issues. In one cartoon some clubwomen had been discussing aggression by Mussolini. One woman expressed her opinion that it would be nice if the club went on record as *unanimously* deploring the dictator's actions.[18] Years later, in the Cold War period, a cartoon pictured two rich but apparently empty-headed women, seated in a plush garden near a mansion. One said, "Oh

dear, I'd really be enjoying all this if it weren't for Russia."[19]

Cartoon women's cultural horizons appeared to be just as limited as their understanding of political issues. Cartoonists considered it humorous to place a woman in contact with a thing of cultural importance and show her to be "outside her sphere." One cartoon pictured a man and his wife in an art museum, looking at a mobile. She remarked, "Why, I was born in Mobile."[20] Then there were the two female tourists in Paris, viewing Notre Dame Cathedral, with one of them saying: "You remember, we saw them play Navy on TV last fall."[21]

Of course many cartoons presented men, rather than women, as the target of ridicule. But it is difficult to identify stereotyped behavior applicable to men in general. A loudmouth politician seems only to suggest something about politicians not that men are by nature excessively talkative. One is hard-pressed to find cartoons of the 1930s,'40s, or '50s, in which a scatterbrained, stupid male was paired with an exasperated but presumably intelligent woman.

In addition to being poor drivers, gossips, and extravagant spenders, women in cartoons seemed to be afflicted with a general stupidity. Some sort of "Dumb Woman Cartoon" award should go to the *Post* gag in 1946 showing a housewife who had placed a piece of paper in a milk bottle and was trying to scribble a note to the milkman by reaching into the bottle.[22]

Apparently cartoonists, and those who helped supply them with funny ideas, recognized the "dumb female" stereotype as having good possibilities for magazine sales. In 1938, a writer on humor pointed out that "silly remarks by sweet young things" are a rich source of cartoon ideas. The writer noted that "it won't do to have men ask the silly questions; it is quite likely but somehow not as funny."[23]

Many cartoons focused on the "feminine mystique" notion of specially assigned roles for women. A *New Yorker* cartoon in 1950 suggested that even when a woman entered politics she might find it difficult to escape completely the image of the housewife. The cartoon showed a woman candidate campaigning among the citizenry, but instead of kissing the babies she was changing their diapers.[24] A *Saturday Evening Post* gag perhaps reflected the views of many concerning the proper roles of women. A man on the witness stand was being questioned by a woman lawyer. The judge instructed the witness: "Your opinion that woman's place is in the home is immaterial, Mr. Billings. Please answer the questions."[25] (Incidentally, the woman lawyer was middle-aged, homely, stout, and wearing spectacles.) Of course the idea that woman's place was in the home did not keep her from sometimes "ruling the roost"; the hen-pecked husband was a recurring theme in the cartoons of the period.

Some cartoonists presented women as lazy or incompetent even in their own "spheres." One cartoon about a woman with insomnia had her husband saying to her, "Well, if you really want to go right to sleep, why don't you just pretend it's time for my breakfast?"[26] And despite all of the automatic devices which technology provided for the kitchen, the American housewife might be rather incompetent, like the one in an appliance store, shopping for a waffle iron. The salesman said to her, "The signal light blinks when the current is turned on, blinks again when it is time to pour the batter and blinks again

when the waffle is done. After that you're pretty much on your own."[27]

Although the feminine mystique regarded domesticity as the most appropriate condition for most women, it recognized other "realms" outside the home environment — such as the office — in which they might function with more or less effectiveness. In the period 1930-1960 numerous cartoons were about female secretaries. They tended to be very sexy, or incompetent in office work, or both. One *Collier's* gag had the boss speaking to his secretary as she left work on a Friday afternoon: "Nice going, Miss Hambin. You certainly put in a full day's work this week!"[28] In another cartoon the secretary had a file cabinet with three drawers labeled according to the letters of the alphabet, and a fourth drawer marked "Last Resort."[29]

The magazine cartoons of 1930-1960 tended to perpetuate images of the American woman which would be anathema to women's liberation groups. However, a somewhat different interpretation was given in 1957 by William McIntyre, a magazine cartoon editor. In an article on men and women in cartoons, McIntyre concluded that the American cartoon male was usually the subservient victim of a matriarchy and was "fully domesticated" by the woman. This domination was reflected not only in the "hen-pecked husband" theme but in countless other ways:

> The domestic life of the cartoonists' America is completely controlled by females who shuffle about in hair-curlers and grubby dressing gowns while contriving to spoil the flavor of pre-prepared food. Tiny amounts of washing and cleaning exhaust these women, but they are tireless talkers over telephones and back fences. They invariably confound bank accounts, and their shopping seems to be only for expensive, weird hats.[30]

In addition, the husband was cruelly punished by his wife when she smashed up the car, to which he had a great emotional attachment.[31] It is obvious that in this cartoon-world matriarchy which McIntyre described, the male, however victimized, had a considerably more favorable image than the woman.

By the late 1950s, cartoon "put-downs" of women were decreasing in number, indicating perhaps that the unfavorable stereotypes were losing their appeal among readers. Indeed, cartoons about women began to present them in a much more favorable light. A shift in attitudes about women's roles was reflected by a 1957 cartoon in which a maternity ward nurse told the new father, "You have a possible future President of the United States — if we ever get the good sense to elect a woman."[32]

NOTES

[1]"Anti-woman" cartoons appeared throughout the period (roughly corresponding with the decline of feminism) but were most numerous in the 1940s and 1950s. In 1940, thirty-six such cartoons appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post*. In 1954, *Collier's* published twenty-three.

[2]For example: *Look*, *American*, *The New Yorker*, and *Saturday Review*.

[3]*Ayer Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals* (Philadelphia, 1944), pp. 621, 805.

[4]*Saturday Evening Post*, April 7, 1956.

[5]*Ibid*, June 1, 1940, p. 87.

[6]*Collier's* Nov. 12, 1954, p. 104.

[7]*Ibid*, Oct. 15,1954, p. 62.

[8]*SEP*, Dec. 21, 1940, p. 58.

[9]*Collier's*, Oct. 1, 1954, p. 62.

[10]*SEP*, Sept. 21, 1940, p. 28.

[11]*Ibid*, Feb. 3, 1940, p. 34.

[12]The theme of these patriotic cartoons was "Not Wanted for the Duration." An example was "Woman who never reads a news story clear through and who frantically spreads her own wild misconceptions." *Collier's*, Oct. 17, 1942, p. 71.

[13]*SEP*, Nov. 2, 1940, p. 48.

[14]*SEP*, Feb. 6, 1954, p. 91.

[15]*New Yorker*, Sept. 23, 1950, p. 27.

[16]*New Yorker Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Album, 1925-1950* (New York, 1951), "Early Thirties" section.

[17]*SEP*, Sept. 14, 1940, p. 30.

[18]*New Yorker Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Album*, "Late Thirties" section.

[19]*New Yorker Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Album*, "Late Forties" section.

[20]*New Yorker*, March 3, 1956, p. 33.

[21]*American*, April 1956, p. 116.

[22]*SEP*, Jan. 19, 1946, p. 72.

[23]Sidney K. Margolis, *Turn Your Humor Into Money* (New York, 1938), p. 19.

[24]*New Yorker*, Sept. 30, 1950, p. 89.

[25]*SEP*, March 30, 1946, p. 72.

[26]*SEP*, Feb. 20, 1954, p. 114.

[27]*Collier's*, Feb. 21, 1953, p. 62.

[28]*Ibid*, Jan. 8, 1954, p. 66.

[29]*Look*, April 16, 1957, p. 100.

[30]William A. McIntyre, "War of the Sexes in Cartoonland," *New York Times Magazine*, Sept. 1, 1957, p. 18.

[31]*Ibid*, p. 44.

[32]*Look*, May 28, 1957, p. 28.

The Rival Sporting Weeklies of William T. Porter and Thomas Bangs Thorpe

By David C. Estes

The New York *Spirit of the Times* ranks among the most influential antebellum newspapers in the history of American literature. Its contribution to American humor, which is primarily a newspaper phenomenon, has been recognized since the work of Walter Blair, Franklin J. Meine, and Constance Rourke in the 1930s.[1] William T. Porter, its editor from 1831 to 1856, encouraged correspondents to send him backwoods vernacular tales and sketches reflecting the masculine humor of the Southwestern frontier where many of them lived. Such well-known literary ancestors of Mark Twain as George Washington Harris, Johnson Jones Hooper, William Tappan Thompson, and Thomas Bangs Thorpe all appeared in the *Spirit*. Porter also solicited original sketches describing American hunting, fishing, and racing adventures. While the humorous material in the *Spirit* has received much scholarly attention, the more numerous sporting sketches have been relatively neglected. Yet they reflect Porter's efforts to make this nation independent of England for its sporting news and literature. Among the several contributors who successfully challenged the popularity of trans-Atlantic sporting writers, Thomas Bangs Thorpe's name is still recognizable because of his highly admired humorous sketches. Through the medium of popular journalism, then, Porter responded to the call of such intellectuals as Ralph Waldo Emerson to establish a national literature written in the vernacular about American subjects.

Because of Porter's success in attracting subscribers – most of them Southerners – who shared his goals and interests, it is not surprising that the *Spirit* would become a model for other editors. In 1843 Thorpe, then one of the *Spirit*'s most popular contributors, co-edited such a weekly. His New Orleans *Southern Sportsman*, the South's first sporting paper, had a brief life of twelve issues. In Porter's eyes it was a dangerous competitor which could

DAVID C. ESTES (Ph.D., English, Duke University) is an assistant professor of English at Loyola University in New Orleans. His articles on Emily Dickinson, William Faulkner, and antebellum humorous and sports writing have appeared in *Essays in Literature*, *Journal of Foreign Languages* (Shanghai), *Mississippi Quarterly*, and *University of Mississippi Studies in English*.

draw both correspondents and subscribers away from his own more-expensive *Spirit*. In retaliation against this threat he launched another sporting weekly, the *American Sporting Chronicle*, which sold, in turn, for less than the *Southern Sportsman*. The biographies of the two editors do not record the story of this rivalry which reveals Porter's readiness to oppose any challenge to his dominant role in American sporting journalism.[2] He took pride that his publications – both the *Spirit* and the monthly *American Turf Register*, which he edited from 1839 to 1844 – had encouraged the growth of sports and the development of sporting literature in this nation. Yet he did not wish to go so far as to encourage the establishment of a regional sporting press which would inevitably detract from the pre-eminence of his own *Spirit* in communicating sporting news. Besides providing a fuller view of the early development of American sporting journalism, the story of Porter's and Thorpe's weeklies challenges the widely-held scholarly opinion about the congenial relationship between the New Yorker and the humorists from the Old Southwest whom he promoted. It suggests that Porter's characteristically unqualified praise of them to both readers and publishers may well have sprung from more complex, and less pleasant, motivations than literary friendship.

By the end of 1842, Thorpe had published, primarily in the pages of the *Spirit*, approximately twenty sketches about the Southwest. Of these, "The Big Bear of Arkansas" is today considered the most successful antebellum frontier humorous sketch and is also known for its particular influence on William Faulkner's "The Bear."[3] While these earned him an international reputation, they did not provide him with an income, and he continued to support his family as a portrait painter. Early in 1843, probably hoping for greater financial rewards for his work, he began a career as a newspaper editor when the proprietors of the New Orleans *Tropic* selected him and Robert L. Brenham as co-editors of the *Southern Sportsman*. Although Thorpe had no previous editorial experience, he was well-chosen for the position. His interests in both sports and the arts would be useful in making the paper attractive to a wide audience of gentlemen and sportsmen, and possibly even more important to the men who hired him, his popularity would create interest in the publication.

The announcement of plans for a Southern sporting paper brought praise from local journalists. The editors of the Baton Rouge *Gazette*, for example, noted that "the want of such a paper devoted immediately to the South, has long been felt....New Orleans is the center of the great sporting circle of the Union, and seems to be the proper and legitimate location for a vehicle of sporting intelligence."[4]

The proprietors hoped to begin issuing the eight-page paper in May, but plans must have proceeded more smoothly than anticipated. According to the New Orleans *Bee*, the initial publication date was advanced to March 6 but then had to be delayed until the engraving of the title page could be completed.[5] The first issue appeared on Saturday, March 18, and carried a promise from the editors that despite the tardiness of that number the *Southern Sportsman* would be printed every Monday beginning with the second issue on March 27. They also stated their intention to publish for at least one year, the period of time they felt sufficient to establish whether

enough sportsmen and agriculturists in the South would support the enterprise.

The similarity of the *Southern Sportsman*'s subtitle, *Devoted to the Sports of the Turf and the Field, to Agriculture, Literature and the Stage* – to that of the *Spirit* – *A Chronicle of the Turf, Agriculture, Field Sports, Literature and the Stage*, indicates the great extent to which the established paper served as its model. Because of their interest in the turf, the editors included extensive reports of the New Orleans Jockey Club races which were being held when they began publication and also printed the regulations governing those races. The second issue specifically requested secretaries of jockey clubs throughout the Union to send accounts of their races. Even though the paper's offices were in the South, the editors hoped to gain a national audience. Like the *Spirit*, each issue carried items about well-known racing horses and horse owners that sporting enthusiasts found of interest. One week C. F. M. Noland, the Arkansas humorist whose dialect letters signed Pete Whetstone appeared frequently in the *Spirit* during the late 1830s and 1840s, contributed an evaluation of the relative merits of the day's best horses.

Thorpe and Brenham also wanted to print original literary contributions as Porter was successfully doing in his weekly. They stated in the first issue: "The Sportsman is frankly offered as a proper medium for the development of the literary talent of the South." The front page of that issue has both "Two Days at Jeffries' Springs" by G. W. Bradbury, senior editor of the *Tropic*, and Thorpe's "The Water Craft of the Back Woods," a sketch describing the different types of Indian canoes. A. C. Bullitt, editor of the *Bee*, contributed "Recollection of the Turf" for the second issue.[6] Following numbers included several articles describing scenes in Arkansas and in the Far West by Robert Patterson, editor of the Vidalia (Louisiana) *Concordia Intelligencer* and contributor of humorous sketches to the *Spirit*. Another contributor worthy of comment is the local sportsman who used the pseudonym Viator and drew subjects from his experiences as a world traveler. His pieces are exceptions to the other original and reprinted sketches which deal almost exclusively with sports in the West and Southwest.

In addition to these sporting sketches, the *Southern Sportsman* contains a number of humorous pieces similar to those in the *Spirit*. Thorpe himself contributed "The Way Americans Go Down Hill," a satiric sketch of Americans' love of being always on the move. Also identifiable as his is the anecdote about a squatter along the Mississippi River entitled "The Last from 'Arkansaw,'" which he incorporated into the sketch "Large and Small Steamers of the Mississippi" in his 1854 collection *The Hive of "The Bee Hunter."* The authorship of the humorous letter "New Orleans Editors" in the April 17 issue is uncertain, but it may well be Thorpe's satirical comment on the professional journalists with whom he was associating in his new career. Signed by James Green, a supposed traveler in New Orleans from Sunkhaize, Maine, the letter describes the appearance and character of ten prominent newspaper editors he saw one evening at the St. Charles Theater. After poking gentle fun at the idiosyncrasies and vanities of the others, he describes Thorpe, calling him Tom Owen after the backwoodsman in his first sketch published in the *Spirit* in 1839:

> Up in the second tier, near the stage, sat Tom. Owen the Bee Hunter. We presume he is so used to climbing trees, that he would not content himself nearer the earth than sixty feet. Tom wears the tallest kind of whiskers, has a high Roman nose, dark eyebrows, a thin face, and such eyes! to see them roll over on "THE BEE" was beautiful. Tom is a very solemn and sedate fellow, seldom smiles, and in this respect is unlike his coadjutor, R. L. Brenham. He has a deep gash on the left side of his face, which we are informed he got while hunting the "Big Bear of Arkansas."

Whether or not Thorpe wrote this letter, its appearance in the *Southern Sportsman* is an indication of the joviality which made him well-liked by other Louisiana editors.

Each issue usually devoted a page to the agricultural department, and the editors requested papers throughout the Union to exchange with them as a way to fill their own columns. In the number for May 8, Thorpe reported on the fair he had attended in Adams County, Mississippi, near Natchez. While he was there, the local agricultural society had made him an honorary colonel. This distinction elicited an original humorous letter to "Curnel Tom Owen" from Pardon Jones, praising him on his new title and relating the tall tale of a man who got his neighbors to help him shoot 6,339 woodpeckers one Saturday. Pardon Jones was the pen name of Christopher M. Haile, editor of the *Plaquemine Gazette,* who had written over forty locally popular dialect letters to the *Picayune* since 1840. But this was the first, and probably the only one, he contributed to another paper. The willingness of Haile and other local editors to contribute to Thorpe's paper reflects more than the good will among these sportsmen and humorists. It also suggests their interest in supporting a regional Southern press, something which would have troubled Porter far away in New York.

Thorpe's interest in the fine arts is quite possibly the reason that the *Southern Sportsman* had a theatrical page in almost every issue. It included reviews of current productions in New Orleans and original critical articles on such subjects as the role of drama in society, the history of French drama, and the nature of pantomime, comedy, melodrama, and farce. Thorpe is probably the author of these unsigned pieces. Throughout each issue paragraphs commenting on books and paintings were printed alongside those on sports.

The *Southern Sportsman* was favorably received by other Southern papers, and on May 29 its editors ran an announcement requesting an agent who would sell subscriptions during the summer in the Eastern cities of Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, and New York. However, they did not carry out these plans for national circulation. The very next issue on June 5 carried this brief notice: "With this number, the publication of the *Southern Sportsman* is suspended, until October next." Thorpe had decided to leave New Orleans to become co-editor of the *Concordia Intelligencer* in Vidalia with Patterson. Despite the plans to resume publication, Thorpe's departure meant the end of the newspaper. In the fall the proprietors announced that they would repay subscribers in spite of the heavy losses which they had sustained.[7] Ironically, in October, when the paper was to have reappeared,

the New Orleans press reported the death of its co-editor Brenham from yellow fever.[8]

Unlike the Southern editors who welcomed the *Southern Sportsman* and contributed to its pages, Porter did not receive the new paper favorably. Even his friendship with Thorpe and admiration for his writing did not compel him to carry an announcement when it began publication, a common courtesy among editors. Nor did he reprint any of the original sketches by Thorpe or others which it carried, even though he knew his readers enjoyed the items by them previously reprinted. The only reference to the *Southern Sportsman* in either the *Spirit* or the *American Turf Register* is in a letter to the *Spirit* from a New Orleans correspondent who seems to be trying to convince Porter of the wisdom in the venture: "...it will do *your* paper no harm. You have done too much for the *American Turf* and been too long identified with its general interests, to be thrust aside at the beck of new comers."[9] Porter apparently did not want to take the risk that sportsmen would subscribe to two sporting weeklies merely out of a desire to be well-informed about events in both the North and the South as this correspondent believed they would. His fears are understandable because the *Spirit* was not then in a sound financial position.[10] To avoid bankruptcy, Porter had sold both it and the *American Turf Register* in 1842, although he remained as editor. A competing sporting paper in the South, the region where subscribers were most numerous, could have made financial recovery impossible. The *Spirit* was an expensive publication for the time, having sold for ten dollars per year since 1839 when Porter not only increased the number of pages per issue from eight to twelve but also began a series of costly engravings of famous race horses. The price of the eight-page *Southern Sportsman* was only five dollars. Thus it was attractive to many who could not afford *Spirit* as well as to those Southerners who preferred to support the commerce of their own region.

Porter and the proprietor of the *Spirit* must have made plans quickly for retaining the subscribers whom they might have lost to Thorpe. For on March 11, just one week before the first issue of the *Southern Sportsman* went to press, Porter announced that on March 21 he would begin a new sporting paper himself.[11] The *American Sporting Chronicle*, a four-page weekly, would cost just two dollars a year. "The Publisher's Card" in the first issue explains that the paper was established in response to the request of many breeders, farmers, and sportsmen for a weekly journal at a cheaper rate than the *Spirit*. "It will of course be obvious to all," Porter made clear, "that from the low price of the 'Chronicle,' it cannot contain so much as the 'Spirit of the Times,' nor will it admit of the publication of any splendid engravings, such as adorn that paper...." Regular columns printed information about the turf and field sports, angling, agriculture, and the theater, with most of the items being reprinted from that week's *Spirit* issued three days previously on Saturday. On account of its size, the paper printed few sporting sketches, and those which did appear were drawn from the *Spirit*. The extensive duplication of the material makes the economic motive behind the *American Sporting Chronicle* quite apparent. The only new department in it was entitled "The Ring." Over two-thirds of the extant issues have either one, two, or three accounts of English boxing matches clipped from *Bell's Life in London*. Because genteel society viewed boxing as disreputable, news of that

sport was not carried regularly in the American press.[12] Therefore, these reports assured an audience for Porter's second weekly.

Thorpe and Brenham did not ignore the *American Sporting Chronicle* as Porter did their paper. "We feel ourselves above the most contemptible littleness of feeling that leads persons to discourage every attempt 'in their own line' lest that attempt should interfere with their own interests," they declared in announcing the new competitor. They called it "just what has been needed to take the place of the expensive" *Spirit,* but were quick to point out that by purchasing both it and the *Southern Sportsman* one could get "the sporting news from the extremes of the union for three dollars less than has heretofore been paid for the 'Spirit.'"[13]

While the New Orleans co-editors clipped articles from the *Spirit* which they thought readers would enjoy and willingly noted the source, Porter never referred to their paper when recounting events in New Orleans, preferring instead to rely on either the *Picayune* or the *Bee*. On April 22 when reprinting several paragraphs from the *National Intelligencer* telling about a sporting dinner in New Orleans, he even went so far as to delete the sentences acknowledging the *Southern Sportsman* as the source of the account. Thorpe and Brenham noticed the omission and called it "a very small affair, and particularly so for a paper that...claims to be 'the sporting organ of the world.'"[14]

Also in that issue of the *Southern Sportsman*, in an article entitled "Pugilism in the South," the editors criticized those Northern papers which were promoting the popularity of boxing by carrying accounts of matches. "The moral sense of every one...is outraged by its (boxing's) disgusting details, and its brutal accompaniments," they wrote. They mentioned the names of no papers, but the allusions to Porter's practices in the *American Sporting Chronicle* are clear: "It was with pain that we first saw American newspapers re-publishing accounts of fights, as they occurred in and about London." In their opinion "high-minded and honorable men" do not consider boxing a sport because "it is by such associations that the manly sports of the Turf are degraded." "Legitimate sport," the article emphasizes, "is innocent, is founded in nature, is calculated to enlighten and refine." These beliefs received approval in many papers across the South. Comments by Southerners against the boxing reports Porter was printing must have continued over the next several months for in September he offered this harsh rebuttal:

> *Sport at New Orleans.* – Some of our contemporaries of that ilk scold us now and then for copying occasionally in the "Sporting Chronicle," (as we have rarely done in the "Spirit,") well written reports from "Bell's Life in London," of the most gallant events in the British *Ring* – "the Antidote to the Knife." While they affect a horror of a scientific prize fight, between men who are trained for the purpose, they "go in" for "Gander Pulling," Bull Baiting, etc., as if the latter were legitimate manly sports.[15]

Although the *Southern Sportsman* lasted only from mid-May to early June 1843, the *American Sporting Chronicle* was probably issued until mid-

January 1844, when advertisments for it stopped appearing in the *Spirit*. By then it had succeeded in protecting Porter's position of undisputed prominence in American sporting journalism. But prudently, in March 1844 at the beginning of the *Spirit*'s fourteenth volume, its subscription price was lowered to five dollars, thus reducing the likelihood of future competitors.

Within one month after the rival New Orleans sporting paper ceased publication, Porter resumed his friendly relationship with Thorpe in the pages of the *Spirit*. Praising both Thorpe's paintings and his literary productions, his former competitor informed readers of his new position as co-editor of the *Concordia Intelligencer*, however without referring to his most recent journalistic activities.[16] Porter also began once again reprinting his sketches. Presumably feeling that they were once again on good terms, Thorpe turned to Porter for assistance when he began to consider publishing his first book. In the *Spirit*'s "To Correspondents" column on March 2, 1844, Porter acknowledged receipt of Thorpe's most recent article and added that he would give him "'a lick ahead' with your volume of sketches."[17] One year later, on March 3, 1845, he fulfilled his promise and forwarded a letter by Thorpe to the publishers Carey and Hart in Philadelphia with these words of introduction:

> Thorpe is a man of decided genius. The "Big Bear" hardly gives one an idea of what he has done or is capable of...Some of his sketches of *scenery* in the great Valley of the Mississippi, and of the "characters" encountered there are equal to anything in the language, in my humble opinion. You will see that, like many other young writers, he looks to "this child" as a sort of "literary god-father."[18]

Porter's posturing as a child-like god-father belies his opposition to Thorpe's *Southern Sportsman*. According to Norris Yates, Carey and Hart most probably proposed to Porter in mid-January 1845 that he compile a collection of humorous sketches from the pages of the *Spirit*, a proposal which he eagerly accepted within a few days.[19] He titled the anthology *The Big Bear of Arkansas* after Thorpe's own famous piece with which it opened. Only after completing arrangements for the book did Porter act on his year-old promise to Thorpe, writing his letter of introduction just one month before the *Big Bear* anthology was to be released.[20] Such a prudent delay indicates that Porter was willing to balance self-interest against the claims of friendship in order to protect his own turf – and the turf he wanted to poach.

Ten months later in January 1846 when Thorpe's *Mysteries of the Backwoods* appeared, Porter was slow to announce it in the *Spirit*, presumably because the publishers had neglected to send him a copy.[21] While waiting for the announcement to appear, Thorpe wrote to Carey and Hart that Porter "has been much censured here for his apparent neglect of Tom Owen."[22] But even after reading the words of praise several weeks later, he felt slighted in comparison to the Alabama humorist Johnson Jones Hooper who had dedicated *Some Adventures of Captain Simon Suggs* to Porter several months earlier. Thorpe shared his disappointment with his editors:

> I cannot understand why Mr. Porter has treated me so shabily

> (sic) with regard to my book, if it is because I paid him no compliments in the volume, and I see no other reason, he is not the man I gave him credit for, any way he had disappointed me. I had reason to *expect much* from his paper, and have received (?) nothing.[23]

Apparently, Thorpe did not feel that Porter bore a grudge against him because of the *Southern Sportsman*. However, he had come to recognize that the man's desire for public praise exceeded what he himself was willing to offer. This judgment of a disillusioned contemporary should still carry weight with students of American sporting and humorous literature as they assess the influence of the *Spirit of the Times* and search for a fuller understanding of the editorial relationship between Porter and the correspondents on whom his paper depended.[24] The neglected rivalry between him and Thorpe, at least, suggests Porter had both a business sense more astute and an egotism less attractive than generally assumed by those who have given scholarly attention to this popular antebellum sporting journalist.

NOTES

[1]See these seminal studies: Walter Blair, *Native American Humor (1800-1900)* (New York: American Book Co., 1937); Franklin J. Meine, *Tall Tales of the Southwest* (New York: Knopf, 1930); and Constance Rourke, *American Humor: A Study of the National Character* (New York: Harcourt, 1931).

[2]When he wrote *Thomas Bangs Thorpe: Humorist of the Old Southwest* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press,1962), Milton Rickels was unaware of the complete file of the *Southern Sportsman* at the Boston Public Library. These are apparently the only extant copies. Francis Brinley's *Life of William T. Porter* (New York: Appleton,1860) contains no reference to the *American Sporting Chronicle*. In *William T. Porter and the "Spirit of the Times"*(Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press,1957), Norris W. Yates merely states in one sentence that in 1843 Porter was editing this "weekly of the turf" in addition to the *Spirit* and the *American Turf Register*. He offers no comment on the publication history or the content of the *American Sporting Chronicle*. Apparently, the only extant copies of it are in the John Hay Library at Brown University. The file is incomplete and contains only the issues for March 21 through October 10, 1843, and pages three and four of the October 24, 1843, issue.

[3]For Faulkner's remarks on "The Big Bear of Arkansas" see Walter Blair and Hamlin Hill, *America's Humor: From Poor Richard to Doonesbury* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1978), p. 200.

[4]"The Southern Sportsman, a New Sporting Paper," Baton Rouge *Gazette*, Jan. 7, 1843.

[5]New Orleans *Bee*, March 2 and 13, 1843.

[6]Thorpe reprinted this sketch under the title "The Great Four-Mile Day" in *The Hive of "The Bee-Hunter"* (New York: Appleton,1854), pp. 280-301. It is the only one in that collection not by Thorpe.

[7]*Concordia Intelligencer*, Oct. 7, 1843.

[8]New Orleans *Bee*, Oct. 9, 1843.

[9]Trebla, "Sayings and Doings in New Orleans," *Spirit*, 12 (Feb. 4, 1843), 579.

[10]Yates discusses the finances of the *Spirit* in

William T. Porter, pp. 31-33.

[11]"New Sporting Paper," *Spirit*, 13 (March 11, 1843), 13.

[12]For a rare account of a boxing match see "Fatal Prize Fight Between Lilly and McCoy, for $200 a Side," *Spirit* 12 (Sept. 17, 1842), 339 and 346. Although the lengthy report records highlights of all 120 rounds, in a preface Porter emphasizes his reluctance to print it. He adds that he "has ever discountenanced *The Ring* and its professors, as such: – that he never has attended a Prize Fight."

[13]*Southern Sportsman*, March 27 and April 10, 1843.

[14]*Southern Sportsman*, May 8, 1843.

[15]*Spirit*, 13 (Sept. 16, 1843), 342, and *American Sporting Chronicle*, Sept. 19, 1843.

[16]*Spirit*,13 (July 1, 1843), 210, and *American Sporting Chronicle*, July 4, 1843.

[17]"To Correspondents," *Spirit*, 14 (March 2, 1844), 1.

[18]Letter to Carey and Hart, March 3, 1845, New-York Historical Society. Rickels correctly records the date of this letter, but mistakenly assumes that Porter sent it the day after printing his promise (see *Thomas Bangs Thorpe*, p. 96).

[19]*William T. Porter*, p. 45.

[20]Yates, p. 49.

[21]"To Correspondents," *Spirit*, 15 (Jan. 17, 1846), 549. The oversight may have resulted because Porter's name does not appear on the list of recipients of complimentary copies which Thorpe sent his publishers (letter to Carey and Hart, undated, New-York Historical Society.)

[22]Letter to Carey and Hart, Jan. 28, 1846, New-York Historical Society.

[23]Letter to Abraham Hart, March 2, 1847, New-York Historical Society.

[24]Little has been written about the changes Porter made in the work of his contributors. Leland H. Cox, Jr., examines Porter's revisions of a number of sporting sketches in "Porter's Edition of *Instructions to Young Sportsmen*," in *Gyascutus: Studies in Antebellum Southern Humorous and Sporting Writing*, ed. James L. W. West III (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1978), pp. 96-99. For comments on Porter's editorial changes in "The Big Bear of Arkansas" see J. A. Leo Lemay, "The Text, Tradition, and Themes of 'The Big Bear of Arkansas,'" *American Literature*, 47 (November 1975), 321-23.

Unitypo: The ITU's Editor and Publisher

By R. Thomas Berner

Shortly after Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act over President Truman's veto in 1947, the president of the International Typographical Union told delegates at the ITU's annual convention: "When the law was passed and the newspaper publicity indicated that Congress was aiming a blow at the United Mine Workers, I recall the comment of first Vice-President Taylor, who said, 'If they were aiming at John Lewis, they missed him and hit us right in the nose.' That is a very good way of expressing it."[1] The ITU's "nose" was its tradition of working only in a closed shop, of controlling the hiring of the people who worked in the production departments of newspapers. Taft-Hartley changed that by banning unions from bargaining for a closed shop.[2] The ITU had exercised absolute control over who could join and who could work. In fact, under ITU bylaws, which were made part of contracts, the foreman, typically thought of as management, was union.[3] Taft-Hartley also changed that and other traditional rules and dramatically altered the relationship between the ITU and publishers. ITU members perceived their union, to quote its president of the period, Woodruff Randolph, as "an outstanding victim" of Taft-Hartley.[4]

In anticipation of Taft-Hartley and the consequent labor strife and unemployment, the International Typographical Union became an editor and publisher by financing its own newspapers. To do that, the union membership created Unitypo, Inc.[5] Unitypo newspapers differed from other strike-born newspapers, primarily those backed by the American Newspaper Guild. Usually a Guild strike paper replaced one no longer being published,[6] but a Guild strike paper seldom competed against a struck newspaper still being published. The International Typographical Union, on the other hand, not only published its own newspapers during strikes; it published them in competition with still-publishing newspapers.

This article examines Unitypo to determine whether it was a worthwhile

R. THOMAS BERNER (M.A., Journalism, Pennsylvania State University) is an associate professor of journalism at Pennsylvania State University. The author of *Language Skills for Journalists* and *Editing*, he also has published articles in *Mass Communication Review*, *Journalism Educator*, *The Journal of General Education*, *Style*, and *Newspaper Research Journal*.

strike weapon and publishing venture. It explores the impact the financing of Unitypo had on the International Typographical Union, the financial problems Unitypo wrought, the effect on the union's ability to maintain local units, and the impact the union claims to have had on its non-union newspaper competition. Some of these issues are discussed simply because throughout the life of Unitypo, Woodruff Randolph, the president of the ITU, made various claims about the success or virtue of Unitypo, claims that should not go untested.

Sources on the Taft-Hartley Act are easy to come by. Some even mention the International Typographical Union. But few sources outside *Typographical Journal*, the union's monthly magazine; the union's transcript-like convention proceedings; and *Editor ' Publisher*, a trade journal aimed at newspaper managers, mention Unitypo in any detail. These three sources provide fact, mood, and viewpoint. Despite *Typographical Journal*'s expected bias, it still published negative comments about Unitypo. Still, it was not always forthcoming about specifics, and some information on Unitypo has to be gleaned from other sources. Convention proceedings, a good source of information, quoted Unitypo's foes freely. Other sources are not as helpful. The two major antagonists in the Taft-Hartley strife – the ITU and the American Newspaper Publishers Association – do not allow free access to the records that cover the period during which Unitypo existed.

Labor Conditions Leading up to Unitypo

Prior to World War II, the public attitude toward unions was favorable, and in 1935 Congress approved the pro-union Wagner Act. But the war began with labor in public disfavor; and the government, needing full production for the war, extracted a no-strike pledge from unions. In pledging not to strike, the unions received from the Roosevelt Administration assurances that industry would not use the unions' weakened condition to destroy unionism. Any disputes unions and management could not settle themselves would go to the government-created War Labor Board, which had the final say.

By early 1943, some members of labor viewed the War Labor Board as pro-management, more interested in holding down wages and maintaining production than worrying about the condition of workers. Prices rose twice as much as wages during the war, generating dissatisfaction among union members. Still the ITU's secretary but also a candidate for its presidency, Randolph appeared before the War Labor Board in March 1943 and repudiated the incumbent president's no-strike pledge. To the chairman of the War Labor Board, Randolph said: "I didn't say that from now to the duration or however long that may be, that I should take a position of signing a blank check or agreeing to one – that whatever terms or conditions may be sought to be inflicted upon our unions, that they must take it."[7] In 1944 Randolph became president of the ITU, which became the only union other than the United Mine Workers to drop its pledge not to strike.

Randolph knew that he faced a battle royal. Even before the war had begun "...four states had passed anti-union laws which variously outlawed sit-down strikes, jurisdictional strikes, some forms of picketing, secondary boycotts and use of force, coercion, intimidation, or threat to compel persons

to join labor unions or stop working."[8] During the war five states passed laws prohibiting closed shops. By the war's end, Representative Fred A. Hartley later told House members, twelve states had banned the closed shop, four other states permitted the closed shop only if a large number of employees approved, and fourteen states were considering a closed shop ban. "The demand for legislation of this kind is widespread and pressing," Hartley told his colleagues.[9] Higher wages was one issue unions raised as the nation recovered from the war, but the major issue was power – and the right to have a closed shop was power. Control of the shop indicated who had the power.

Against a backdrop of anti-union sentiment, the Taft-Hartley Act moved swiftly through Congress. Within a week of being introduced in the House, it was passed to the Senate. Slightly less than a month later, the Senate approved it, and after a short time in conference, the Act went to Truman, who vetoed it. Three days later, Congress overrode Truman's veto, and on August 22, 1947, the act became law. In the ITU's eyes, seventy-five years of progress disappeared with the enactment of Taft-Hartley. "Through the medium of this legislation," a union historian wrote, "unscrupulous employers were given the opportunity and the tools to greatly weaken and destroy the ITU."[10]

While such words may sound emotionally charged today, even fairly objective analysts of the time felt that Taft-Hartley was not a good law. "Highly effective weapons were given to an employer who sought to break a union or to break a strike," concluded two scholars,[11] who believed the ITU suffered more than other unions. "(T)he sweeping restrictions in Taft-Hartley appeared to this union (ITU), rightly or wrongly, such a threat that it undertook to fight against the publishers and commercial printers who stood firm against what seemed to them evasions of the act."[12] In effect, Taft-Hartley legislated strife. Yet, say the same scholars, Taft-Hartley did not work as much in management's favor as earlier critics and supporters thought it would. "Some employers were dissatisfied with the Act, partly because it proved less effective against union abuses than they had hoped, and some even more because of the great extension of government control over collective bargaining itself."[13]

To ITU members, the way to counter Taft-Hartley was to strike. According to one analysis: "The history of collective bargaining in the ITU is similar to that of other craft unions of skilled labor, with the exception that the ITU has generally been more militant, more prone to use the strike weapon, and since 1922 less inclined to submit to conciliation and arbitration proceedings."[14] In effect, the ITU had refused to recognize modern collective bargaining practices. In vetoing Taft-Hartley, Truman said: "Its provisions would cause more strikes, not fewer."[15] Truman's remarks about Taft-Hartley show that he considered the proposal a bad piece of legislation that would adversely affect both labor and management. Truman, who explained his veto on national radio, forecast that "(i)nstead of learning to live together, employers and unions are invited to engage in costly, time-consuming litigation, inevitably embittering both parties."[16]

Said one analyst:

> Taft-Hartley failed to meet the need of its times, to build on the Wagner Act, fill in its gaps, eliminate abuses, but at the same

time strengthen the trends toward democratic and responsible self-government in industry. While some sections of the Act pointed in that direction, too much of the Act shows that it was the product of men who did not know how things work in industry or in the administration of the NLRA (National Labor Relations Act), and of some who wished to weaken the position of all labor organizations in the economic and political scene.[17]

Given those conditions, the ITU dug in.

Why the Strikes Failed

The ITU's classic weapon, the strike, lacked firepower after World War II for a variety of reasons: a changing public attitude toward labor, a collective counter-attack by newspaper publishers, lack of support from other craft unions, and automation.

The public attitude had changed since Congress approved the National Labor Relations Act of 1935 (the Wagner Act). With the war over, unions were fighting hard to make up for retarded wage increases during the war and for wages lost in the slowdown after the war. In 1946, 4,985 strikes occurred nationwide, the highest annual total in the nation's history to that date. Randolph had made no secret that he foresaw more strikes if the ITU did not get its way.

It did not, and so it struck. From 1938 through 1944, the number of ITU strikes exceeded double figures only once--thirteen in 1943. But in the last year of the war and continuing through 1948, the number of strikes was always greater than the 1943 figure. The year the war ended, the ITU had struck twenty-nine newspapers; in 1946, eighteen; the year of Taft-Hartley's passage, thirty-one; in 1948, twenty.[18] The pages of *Editor & Publisher* and *Typographical Journal*, for those and subsequent years, tell of strikes and lockouts[19] in, among other places, San Antonio, Texas; St. Louis; Chicago; Fort Wayne, Indiana; Birmingham, Alabama; Seattle, Washington; Bayonne, New Jersey; St. Petersburg, Florida; and the Canadian cities of Winnipeg, Vancouver, Edmonton, Ottawa, and Hamilton. The issue in most cases: management would not recognize ITU bylaws as part of a contract; in other words, backed by Taft-Hartley, management would not recognize the closed shop.[20] In some instances, strikes went on for as many as thirteen years, either petering out for lack of interest or being declared ended because the governing labor relations board no longer recognized the ITU as the bargaining agent for the affected printers.[21]

Given Randolph's dug-in position and having Taft-Hartley as ammunition to fight Randolph, the American Newspaper Publishers Association entered the fray in early 1948. The association obtained a federal court injunction requiring the ITU to cease telling local unions to bargain for union rules as the substance of contracts. The ANPA took an interest in the situation because ninety-four per cent of its 800 members in 1947 had contracts with the ITU and more than half of those contracts allowed the closed shop.[22] When those contracts expired, the newspapers could, thanks to Taft-Hartley, not only disregard any ITU discussion of continuing the closed shop; the newspapers could protest to the National Labor Relations Board that the ITU was in violation of the law. Demanding a closed shop was against the law.

Ignoring that prohibition, ITU officers had instructed locals to demand the closed shop and other illegal provisions, and the ANPA requested the injunction.[23]

Within months the ITU was found in contempt for disobeying the injunction. A federal judge ruled:

> "But despite the respondents' protestations of good faith efforts to comply with the decree, a consideration of all the evidence convinces the court that the respondents have deliberately attempted since the issuance of the injunction to accomplish the objective against which the injuction was directed, namely the continuance of closed-shop conditions in the newspaper industry."[24]

Again the ITU was ordered to stop insisting that locals bargain for the illegal closed-shop provision.

The issue continued for another five years before the court issued a final order in 1953.[25] At the same time the case was finally resolved, Randolph appeared before a House committee at which he said, "We want the right to bargain for a closed shop, period."[26] But later in Senate hearings he had this exchange with Senator Taft:

> Taft: Mr. Randolph, when you come down to the end, is not the whole issue the closed shop? Is that not the whole issue fundamentally that you have with the Taft-Hartley law? I notice that the law you propose the first thing authorizes you to establish a closed shop in the printing trades. Is that not really the fundamental issue?
> Randolph: No, Senator; it goes far beyond that. It goes far beyond just the closed shop.

Later in the hearing Taft repeated the question, and Randolph gave this response:

> That is 25 per cent of the purpose of our appearing here. We have four points. The closed shop is one. The injunction evil is another. Restrictions on bargaining are another.
> Taft: 'Restrictions on bargaining' is the closed shop.[27]

Randolph denied that, but earlier he also had denied to the committee that the ITU had insisted on the closed shop.[28] Randolph was trying to talk around the subject, to downplay the closed shop issue; but Taft and the NLRB would have none of it. Randolph had engaged in a lengthy and unproductive fight that left him and the ITU weaker legally and in the eyes of the membership.

Another obstacle the ITU had to face was the lack of support from other craft unions. Between September 2, 1945, and the first nine months of 1950, the ITU went on strike against 158 newspapers, and as of September 30, 1950, fifty-one strikes were continuing against seventy-two newspapers. But all seventy-two newspapers were publishing.[29] The ITU failed to shut down any of the newspapers because allied unions would not participate in the strikes. They had contracts to honor and "were not disposed to idle their

members and pay them weekly benefits for the duration of the ITU strike, a conflict in which they were not directly involved."[30] Gleefully the ANPA pointed out the lack of cooperation.[31] The ITU, meanwhile, bitterly told its members that "the Allied Printing Trades Unions are no help."[32] In the fifteenth month of Chicago's twenty-two-month strike, all four newspapers – still publishing, of course – boasted an increase in advertising linage.[33] The ITU obviously was having no impact.

Another countervailing force was automation. Whether it was the transmission of the wire service reports via tape or the beginning of new, less labor-intensive printing methods, the newspaper printing industry needed fewer skilled labor printers.[34] Semi-skilled labor replaced the skilled in the typesetting operation, mostly because of the Varityper, which required only typing skills. As early as 1946 the ITU knew of the Varityper's threat, and its second vice-president warned members of the problems in an article titled "Varityper Enters Field as a Strikebreaker."[35] Despite early recognition of the threat, the ITU took seven years to counter with its own version of the Varityper, a project financed by Unitypo.[36]

An unrelenting legal contest with the NLRB, a lack of cooperaton from other newspaper unions, and automation stymied the ITU's efforts to shut down newspapers that would not accept its version of a contract. Failing to shut down newspapers, the ITU went after their pocketbooks.

The Birth of Unitypo

The concept of union-financed newspapers was not new in 1946. In the late 1800s, members of the ITU's New York local considered starting their own newspaper to provide work for unemployed members. The project was abandoned as too risky and impractical. New York typographers did support farm projects in which their members, who were drawing union relief benefits, worked as field hands. The local advanced $2,500 toward the project and made a profit of $550.05 in 1899, the project's second year. The printers got out of farming in 1900.

Almost half a century later, in many communities where ITU locals went on strike or were locked out the printers started their own newspapers (usually weeklies). Thus, older residents of Meriden, Connecticut, might recall *The Walking Man*; in Hamilton, Ontario, it was the *Classified News*; in Vancouver, the *Victory Square Type Times*; in St. Louis, the *Daily News*; in Winnipeg, *The Typo News*; in Edmonton, the *News Advertiser*; and in Hammond, Indiana, the *Compass*. In some of these towns and others, Unitypo financed newspapers to compete against the struck – but always still publishing – local daily.

Unitypo's seed money was a $50,000 loan from the ITU's general fund,[37] followed by a special assessment on wages designed to raise one million dollars. Unitypo's main purpose was financing newspapers in small and medium cities where the ITU was on strike. The first newspaper to benefit was the *Trentonian* of Trenton, New Jersey. It began in 1946 as a weekly published by the Trenton local of the ITU (on strike against the Trenton *Times*) but was converted into a daily with the assistance of Unitypo, which provided real estate and printing equipment valued at $109,511.33.[38] Within a year, the next paper supported by Unitypo took over the *Classified News* in

Hamilton, Ontario, where printers had walked out against the *Spectator*. Unitypo changed the name of the strike paper to the *News*.[39] The *Trentonian* was followed closely also by the Colorado Springs *Free Press* (after a strike against the *Gazette Telegraph*) and in 1950 by the Las Vegas *Free Press* (after a strike against the *Review-Journal*). Other newspapers were to follow, but the *Trentonian* and the two *Free Press* newspapers rate special mention because they are the only survivors of the Unitypo venture. (Both *Free Press* newspapers were renamed *Sun*.)

In order to raise money to continue Unitypo and to support strikes, Randolph asked the ITU membership to approve a one-year four-and-a-half percent levy on wages in order to raise $15 million. The members approved it despite the fact that they already were paying one-half of one percent on wages for defense. But the vote came in 1948 shortly after the ANPA had successfully sought an injunction against the ITU, an action whose galvanizing effect on the ITU can only be inferred from the 2-1 margin of the vote. Within two and a half months, the extra assessment was $2,200,370 on its way to the goal.[40]

The *Trentonian* became a model for other union locals to look up to. In one year it doubled its advertising revenue,[41] and within three years the ITU was able to sell the paper to the Goodrich Publishing Co.[42] The union sold the paper, later reports say, because ITU officers recognized that their association with the paper impeded its growth. Learning from the Trenton experience, the ITU then made it a goal to eventually sell any newspaper it established.[43] At the time of the *Trentonian*'s sale, the strike against the still-publishing Trenton *Times* was thirty-nine-months old. Two months after the sale Unitypo started the *Sun* in Jamestown, New York, where printers had been on strike against the *Post-Journal* since December 1947.[44] The *Sun* cost Unitypo between $250,000 and $300,000 to start. So did the *Free Press* in Colorado Springs,[45] another daily started as a weekly by local typographers in February 1947 and later financed by Unitypo. After Unitypo's money was put into the *Free Press*, the paper became a full-sized daily (discontinuing its tabloid size) and added a Sunday edition.[46] In 1950 Unitypo started the Las Vegas *Free Press* and then promptly sold it to Hank Greenspun for $104,000.[47] Another daily, the *Columbia Basin News*, grew out of a weekly in Pasco, Washington, thanks to Unitypo financing.[48]

In August 1951 the union announced Unitypo's next venture – the publication of tabloid newspapers in communities where ITU locals were on strike or locked out. A union statement said the newspapers were being published because of the "danger in the number of monopoly newspaper enterprises in this country and the rate at which that list was increasing through mergers, suspensions, purchases, and consolidations."[49] Stated intention aside, the union did not publish any of its new newspapers in a town where union printers were employed by the monopoly newspaper.

Each newspaper was named *Daily News-Digest*. Unlike previous papers, these creations were to be more carefully planned and controlled, and were less a creature of their individual markets and more an arm of central publishing. Four *Digests* were publishing already, and five were scheduled to be published later. Publishing were sixteen-page *Digests* in Texarkana, Arkansas; Monroe, Louisiana; Meriden, Connecticut; and Allentown,

Pennsylvania. Planned were *Digests* in Springfield, Missouri; Lorain, Ohio; and the West Virginia communities of Charleston, Beckley, and Huntington.[50] Because of a lack of money, the Lorain *Digest* never published.

Editor & Publisher's reaction was to caption a photograph of one *Digest*: "ITU, editor and publisher."[51] The photograph showed a prepublication issue of the Texarkana *Digest*, which carried a headline promising:

More News,
Better News,
No Strings

A subhead on another story complained of established newspapers' "failure to edit news in proper perspective." The *Digests* were a make-work project of the noblest kind, according to Randolph, who saw them as a way of employing skilled Linotype operators threatened by automation.[52] The Allentown *Daily News-Digest* had a four-person editorial staff, including a sports reporter, whom one former staff member described as a "recycled printer."[53]

Dissatisfied with the wire services because, Randolph said, they were "not sending out the news considered either adequate or properly written,"[54] Unitypo created the New Newspaper Service, which provided 10,000 words a night to all *Digests*. Its contents included stories on "prices and profits and cost of living – the pocketbook stories that normally wind up on financial pages in complex hard-to-grasp language. ...stories on how the 'little' guy is making out on his right to sound off on picket lines, in hearing rooms, in his continuing fight for better living standards and security." NNS also provided a "roundup of responsible opinion issues in the news; its own comments in a signed editorial column by top-notch Washington newsman Willard Shelton."[55] Shelton, who had worked for the St. Louis *Star-Times*, the Chicago *Sun*, *PM*, and *Nation* and later as a columnist for the *CIO News*, the *AFL-CIO News* and *The Guild Reporter*,[56] was once touted as being "well known for his honest, liberal reporting."[57]

All *Daily News-Digests* died or were killed by the ITU early in 1954.[58] One reason many folded was their inability to make money. Others died because they lost their *raison d'etre*. When members of the ITU local in Springfield voted to end their five-year-old strike against the two existing dailies, the *News-Digest* was collapsed immediately.[59] Unitypo directly financed (as compared to assisting through lease arrangement) one more newspaper, the Grand Junction, Colorado, *Morning Sun*, which survived about four years.[60] The last Unitypo-financed paper to die was the *Columbia Basin News*, which folded two and a half months after the Jamestown *Sun*[61]. *Editor & Publisher* said the *News* folded "after the union withdrew its support."[62] The ITU had loaned the *News* $1.17 million.

The Problems of Unitypo Papers

Unitypo papers suffered from many problems that seem inherent in any project with the seemingly contradictory goals of make work at all costs but also make a profit. The control of the *Digests* by central publishing – a money-saving move – resulted in homogenized newspapers and diminished each one's local identity. Furthermore, a successful newspaper apparently cannot be perceived as being committed to any interest group or ideology.

Although newspapers frequently carry identities of "liberal" or "conservative" or "middle of the road," few wed themselves to any dispute in such a way as injures their credibility among readers. But born with union support and because of labor disputes, Unitypo's papers could not claim independence. One scholar says the association between a strike and a strike-born newspaper "hampers (the newspaper's) salability to the general public, and more important, to the advertiser."[63] Advertiser resistance to the *Trentonian* disappeared when it was sold to a non-union-related publisher. After that, the *Trentonian* became self-sustaining.[64]

Furthermore, the news content of at least the *Digests* left much to be desired. One *Digest* publisher said the editorials (provided by the New Newspaper Service) were "avowedly liberal," were slugged "must" (be published), and left "no room for local editorial comment." Editors of the NNS wrote headlines on all stories, which eliminated the expense of a wire editor at each paper. NNS editors daily provided a page-one dummy, leaving no room for local creativity. In addition, most of the news was rewritten from the early edition of Washington's morning papers, which made for stale news when the stories were published twenty-four hours later.[65] A former member of the Allentown staff said that as journalism, his paper had nothing to recommend itself. It published warmed-over news and relied on the major local daily for news tips.[66]

The fact that the *Digest* did not have enough news to fill more than the allotted space did not matter. Each *Digest* was supposed to be fifty per cent news, fifty percent advertising. But when there wasn't enough advertising, "house" advertisements filled the space. The ratio was decreed to maintain steady work for eight printers in the composing room.[67] The flow of news mattered not.

The *Digests* also lacked journalistic ambience because, for the most part, printers staffed all departments. The *Trentonian* also started with printers in editorial, advertising, business, circulation, and administrative departments, not to mention the composing room.[68] The *Trentonian* eventually hired professional advertising solicitors,[69] and the released printers were paid strike benefits or found jobs in other cities.[70]

The ITU also had to contend with other unions. In 1949 the American Newspaper Guild organized the newsroom and other departments of the Jamestown *Sun*[71] and later accused the ITU of bargaining in bad faith, an accusation never adjudicated by the NLRB.[72] A competing publisher said that in his area (Meriden, Connecticut) the *Digest* would not bargain with other craft unions and that it paid below the prevailing wage.[73] Even union printers had conflicts with union-installed management. In Pasco, Washington, the general manager of the *Columbia Basin News* explained the conflict this way: "I knew our money was coming from the union and the union members who didn't know were asking for a pay increase. At the same time the ITU was asking us to keep costs down."[74] The ITU routinely attempted to conceal its support, and in one documented instance "laundered" a loan to hide its ITU source.[75]

The managers whom Unitypo hired to run various newspapers were of questionable quality or showed too much independence. In Allentown, the *Digest* suffered through a "parade of publishers – all unsuccessful." One had

been an executive with the American Red Cross. He was very articulate but knew nothing about journalism. Another sold subscriptions with high-pressure telephone solicitations of questionable tactics.[76] Overall, various managers came and went, most claiming that the ITU interferred too much. The available evidence suggests that the managers had to satisfy two masters – the union and reality. The unions won the early skirmishes, resulting in dismissal after dismissal or resignation after resignation. Even the creator of NNS, Dale Byrne, resigned from his job in 1952 because, he said, the union's leaders were preventing him from putting the newspapers on a paying basis.[77] The union did not report Byrne's resignation, only the hiring of his successor, Larry Taylor, a former vice-president of the union.[78] In Charleston, the *Digest*'s managing editor also resigned in a policy dispute.[79]

Not every manager was unhappy. As publisher of the Jamestown *Sun*, Edward J. Byrne (no relation to Dale) suspended the Sunday paper and reduced the staff – all without ITU interference.[80] Byrne remained with the *Sun* for most of its life, but his good relationship with the ITU seems to have been the exception rather than the rule.

Changing Membership Feelings Toward Unitypo

In order to raise the money to finance the ITU's expensive battle against the Taft-Hartley Act, the union's officers needed the firm support of ITU members. No officer stands out more strongly as the personification of Unitypo than Woodruff Randolph. It was he who built membership support for Unitypo, who exhorted the members to approve costly assessments, and who countered internal dissent as doubt about Unitypo began to grow.

Randolph was an aggressive and combative person in a union that had institutionalized disagreement by legislating a two-party system. It was possible for the Progressives and Independents to split the top union offices, for the president to be of one party and all or some of his lieutenants to be of the other party. Randolph, a Progressive, defeated an incumbent in 1928 at age thirty-six to become secretary-treasurer.[81] As secretary-treasurer, Randolph was also the editor of the *Typographical Journal* and he could say what he wanted without fear of the president or two vice-presidents removing his remarks. Beginning in 1940, Randolph's condemnation of the other ITU officers, and particularly the president, Claude M. Baker, intensified. Since Randolph saw the copy for the other officers' columns in advance of writing his own, he often would comment on their columns – which appeared later in the issue than his. For example, in 1940 Randolph noted in his column: "In this issue of The Journal, President Baker wiggles and squirms, dodges and evades, misrepresents and confuses in an effort to cover up his support of the illegal activity of the Mailers' Trade District Union."[82] Two years later Baker managed to get a constitutional amendment before the membership that would have allowed the ITU's executive council to appoint an editor for the *Journal*. Baker also said that the editor would "not be permitted to use the columns of the official publication to promote the self-interests of any individual or group."[83] The amendment failed, 28,898 to 20,047.[84] Randolph continued to use the pages of the *Journal* not only to condemn Baker but to promote himself. One such example included this headline: SECRETARY-TREASURER SCORES COMPLETE VICTORY IN CONTROVERSY

OVER A.F. OF L. REAFFILIATION.[85] A month later he unseated Baker as president, 27,723 to 17,449. A third candidate received 8,412 votes.[86]

Philosophically, Randolph was at least a liberal Democrat who had flirted with socialism. He used part of a column in 1940 to explain that he had "believed in evolutionary socialism to be obtained and maintained through the votes of a free people," but that he had no regard for "the so-called national socialism of Germany nor the communistic dictatorship of Russia."[87] In 1942 he wrote:

> While the writer, when a young man, was convinced that the socialist philosophy was sound, he has not believed it for many years. If the best we have is to be preserved, a well regulated and controlled system of production for profit will probably be found the best means of accomplishing it.[88]

In the same editorial, he also revealed that during World War I he had registered as a conscientious objector and was a member of the Socialist Party. In his final column as president, he reiterated part of the philosophy that had guided him as a union president: "I have no respect for the lazy freerider who will not share in the effort and expense involved in furthering the true interest of his union."[89] If nothing else, Randolph remained true to his principles throughout.

A graduate of the Webster College of Law in Chicago, Randolph was not fond of most lawyers. "Prior to 1947, we did not hire lawyers," he told a Senate hearing. "Now we have them around our necks all the time. That is the only way we have kept out of jail."[90] More directly, he once wrote a column headlined: "Do Not Negotiate With Lawyers." He considered lawyers to be friends of publishers and at the root of the union's problems.[91]

Randolph was as direct in person as he was in writing. Even when talking with his own members at conventions – people who would vote on re-electing him – he did not mince his words. He was in charge. In the 1947 convention, one delegate moved the previous question and Randolph immediately said from the podium: "If anyone wants to debate it, I haven't heard that motion."[92] A critical delegate received this Randolph retort: "The point is not well taken. I have permitted you to talk the full ten minutes permitted by the convention rules, and you were off the beam most of the time."[93] Another delegate moved for recess "since the hour of adjournment has arrived." Said Randolph: "My watch doesn't say that at all."[94]

Regardless, Randolph had many supporters. When he told the delegates to the 1947 Convention about his vision of Unitypo's future, many rose to praise him. The word "courageous" was heard many times.[95] At the next annual convention, delegates granted the union's executive council the right to spend all money received for defensive purposes, including "the establishment or encouraging the establishment of enterprises to compete with or replace any establishment where a strike or lockout is or has been in progress or is threatened."[96] Some delegates, however, objected because they felt they were granting their officers a blank check. But Randolph H. Leach, a delegate from Omaha, Nebraska, said: "I don't think we are signing a blank check. We have the right at any referendum to raise, lower, or continue that assessment as is, and any time this administration does anything we feel is

contrary to what we have done we have the right to change that."[97]

Randolph had the majority of ITU members behind him, but he still had to contend with criticism. At every convention some delegates criticized Unitypo, primarily for the secrecy about it. When in 1949 the ITU's secretary-treasurer reported two-year losses totaling $24,585 for Unitypo, some members demanded a more public accounting of how the money was spent. Randolph declined because he said that revealing more detail would "aid and comfort the enemy."[98] At least nine proposals requesting a more detailed auditing or reporting on Unitypo finances were put forth. All lost.[99]

Bothered by the fact that the union's executive council could and did transfer millions of dollars from the mortuary fund to the defense fund to finance strikes, some delegates also attempted to put the mortuary and pension funds under separate, untouchable corporations so transfers could not easily occur. Randolph ruled the proposition out of order.[100] "We are in a fight for our life as a craft union," Randolph had said earlier in the year, "and the war will continue and the cost will be great. A thinking loyal membership is needed to survive. There will be no opportunity for second guessing."[101]

But the political structure of the union – the only craft union with a two-party system – helped keep the Unitypo issue alive. Candidates for office were (and are) allowed to publish campaign statements in the *Typographical Journal*, an opportunity opponents of Randolph and Unitypo used to criticize the president and his venture. Thus, in the April 1950 *Typographical Journal*, the Independent candidate, C.G. Sparkman of Detroit, an early Unitypo supporter, said: "The membership is entitled to a factual report on expenditure of ITU funds under any guise. The alleged financial report of Unitypo Corporation, in which is invested almost one and one-half million dollars of your money, is a mockery, designed to conceal, not reveal, its financial status."[102] In the next issue, Randolph retorted: "(A) full financial report is printed, but minus the *detail* of the expenditure and the *location* thereof."[103] All along Randolph had been reporting how much money had been raised and spent, but he would not tell where.

Randolph won the 1950 election, 39,225 votes to Sparkman's 31,663,[104] hardly the mandate of 1946 when he was re-elected by the largest margin in ITU history, 41,418-16,817.[105] Over the years Randolph's stature with the membership had declined. Members continued to complain about the secrecy surrounding Unitypo, and one delegate in 1951 complained that *Editor & Publisher* "was better informed on how the ITU funds are being spent than is the average union member."[106]

Randolph defended his secrecy by noting that the union would like "the line-item detail of expenditures by unfair publishers including the who, when and where of recruiting strike-breaking crews. ...Such information, however, is not published, nor is it available. Whatever the sins of the publishers and their agencies and associations, they are kept closely covered."[107] To request more detail on Unitypo was to aid the enemy – newspaper publishers.

Unitypo and its secrecy continued as an issue in ITU presidential elections. In 1954 Randolph's opponent, George Bante, began his campaign statement in *Typographical Journal*: "Unitypo is a farce; it SHOULD be liquidated; it MUST be liquidated; it SHALL be liquidated."[108] Bante missed unseating

Randolph by 569 votes, the closest anyone ever came.[109] At the following convention, the union's committee on defense, always a unanimous supporter of Unitypo, for the first time produced a minority report proposing the liquidation of Unitypo. The report was rejected,[110] but the growing mood was clear. Perhaps what forestalled the inevitable at the convention had already occurred when earlier in the year Randolph announced the end of the *Daily News-Digests*.[111]

In 1956, Randolph won re-election one more time,[112] got the members to approve a one per cent assessment for defense,[113] but also announced he was not seeking re-election. He then stood quietly by as his party's successful presidential candidate promised to liquidate Unitypo "as soon as practicable and in accordance with sound business practices."[114]

The Financial Impact of Unitypo

A union's expenditures in the defense category are not expected to yield a dollar-for-dollar return. The important thing is job security for the members. But in the case of Unitypo, the expenditures became an issue.

Randolph might have had to endure less vocal criticism if it were not for the ITU constitution, which requires semi-annual publication of all financial proceedings of the ITU. The information was so detailed that it included the expenses paid to various union officers who traveled to cities where newspapers were on strike. About the only piece of major information never revealed in the pages of the *Typographical Journal* was exactly where and why Unitypo's money was spent. Unitypo financial reports showed lump sums but no detail. Still, much can be gleaned from the records, and totals can be calculated. The totals tell the story.

Strikes are expensive. The twenty-two month strike in Chicago, starting on November 24, 1947, cost the ITU $7 million,[115] more than half of what the ITU had spent for defense for 1947 through 1949.[116] The average defense cost per member rose from seventy-seven cents in 1945 to $101.18 (its highest) in 1949.[117] "We have to spend millions to keep the ITU bringing more millions into your pocket," Randolph told one convention.[118] But the ITU was not delivering in the pocketbook. The wage settlement in the Chicago strike was $10 a week – management's original offer.[119] At the same time that striking union members were losing wages they could never recoup, advertising linage at the struck newspapers was increasing. Publishers did not suffer from lean paychecks. In 1952, the ANPA estimated that in thirteen cities (only two of which lacked a Unitypo paper), wages lost by ITU members amounted to $12,692,465.[120]

Members not on strike paid for Unitypo out of special assessments or from other funds. The highest amount ever listed as an ITU Loan to Unitypo was $5,244,812.50, a figure reported in August 1955.[121]

Some of that was repaid, though, because the union's total contributed capital was $4,216,258.53.[122] In every year save 1950 Unitypo suffered losses; in 1950 it could boast a profit of $13,525.32, which was more a hopeful sign than a profit. Additionally, Unitypo leased equipment without profit, such as in 1965 when a group starting the Lima, Ohio, *Star* was able to use Unitypo equipment for $1 a month.[123] In other cases equipment was sold or transferred to existing newspapers at no cost or at a loss. The union cancelled loan

after loan to Unitypo. In 1966 the ITU invested $86,978.30 in a subsidiary, the Colorado Springs Free Press, Inc., an investment the union immediately wrote down to $50,000.[124] Eventually the union was able to sell the business for an undisclosed amount and the physical plant for $225,000,[125] but that was in the 1970s. Even earlier the union failed to make the most of its investment. Eager to sell Unitypo newspapers to pro-union publishers, ITU officers sold them on the buyer's best terms rather than on terms that reflected the union's investment. The *Trentonian* reportedly was sold to a company with a capitalization of $125,000, but it paid only $1,000 up front to get the paper.[126] Unitypo initially had invested $109,511.33 in the *Trentonian*.

In attempting to play down heavy losses, Randolph and his officers made many claims about Unitypo newspapers. In 1951, he claimed that the ITU newspapers had broken the monopoly of non-union publishers, which he said diminished the selling price of a newspaper by $1 million to $2 million.[127] Randolph cited the *Post-Journal* in Jamestown, New York, saying it was not only worth less but could not be easily sold. While the Unitypo's *Sun* existed in Jamestown, the *Post-Journal* was sold, but it is impossible to prove or disprove Randolph's claim that it sold for less than market value. The *Post-Journal* still exists; the *Sun* doesn't.[128]

In 1952, Randolph implied that the ITU's strike against the *Daily Mail* in Charleston, West Virginia, had cost the *Mail* 6,000 readers.[129] His point was that the *Mail* published in a heavily union area and that the residents were loyal to any union's cause. To the contrary, the loss in circulation – and no reason can be divined – was approximately 3,000; and within two years of Randolph's claim, the *Mail*'s circulation was higher than at the outset of the strike.[130]

In 1956, Randolph published in the *Typographical Journal* the revenue of all Unitypo papers from January 1, 1950, to May 20, 1956,[131] and at the following convention the union's committee on defense said the $13,104,921 represented lost "potential income to unfair employers."[132] Meanwhile, the union had spent $34 million in defense expenditures – approximately $29.8 million on strikes and $4.2 million in unrecovered loans to Unitypo – since the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act. That total includes $2.6 million transferred from the mortuary fund, a move which weakened that resource.

No doubt Unitypo cost some papers some revenue, but the impact of the lost revenue is subject to debate. The publisher of the Meriden *Record-Journal* said the *Daily News-Digest* in that city negatively affected profits only in 1950, and after that the company "was able to make a reasonable profit each year."[133] That is not to say some newspapers did not suffer. One that claimed to suffer was the *Tri-City Herald* in Pasco, Washington. Rejected by a major advertiser who instead gave business to the Unitypo-financed *Columbia Basin-News*, the *Herald* filed an antitrust suit. In court, the *Herald* estimated its lost revenue from 1950 until June 1959 at $1,059,695.[134] At the same time, the ITU admitted in court that Unitypo had lent $1,178,000 to the *News*.[135] But the U.S. Court of Appeals rejected the *Herald*'s final appeal, noting that the owner of the company received regular raises and occasional bonuses, that the *Hearld*'s circulation was always higher than the *News'*, and that the *Herald* carried between forty-nine per cent and sixty-three per cent

more advertising than the *News* from 1951 through 1958.[136] The *News* died approximately one year after the court ruling. The ruling aside, even if the *News* had any impact on the *Herald*, it was marginal. Furthermore, the experience cannot be applied to the other Unitypo papers because most of them did not live as long as the *News*; the average life of all failed Unitypo papers was 4.37 years compared to the *News'* twelve years.[137] The three newspapers that survive today were sold too soon after their birth to produce any benefit to the union. The union spent much more than it got back.

Conclusions

"A trade union which is not an economic defense organization has no function," Lipset said, "and will not long remain on the scene."[138] His analysis could be used to justify the ITU's long and expensive fight against the Taft-Hartley Act. No one can say with certainty where the ITU would be today if it had not geared up against Taft-Hartley. The argument can be made that by striking at so handy a time, the union speeded up automation's timetable in the publishing industry. But the recent and current acquiescence of unions in the face of electronic editing and typesetting equipment suggests no such delaying action. Automation seems inevitable in an industrialized and high technology nation, and union response seems geared more toward maintaining jobs for a few than going on strike for many.[139]

A case can be made, though, that Randolph's campaign weakened the ITU. In the sixteen towns and cities where an ITU newspaper resulted from a strike, only two of those struck newspapers still have union production departments and one of those is not represented by the ITU.[140] Presumably the printers who went on strike moved to other communities and accepted non-union work. The union lost fifteen locals in the process. Ironically, one of the surviving Unitypo papers, the *Colorado Springs Sun*, is now owned, to quote a retired union officer, by "the union-baiting Gaylords from Oklahoma City."[141] It has been delivered into the hands of the "enemy."

One argument that cannot be made is that Unitypo reduced the membership rolls of the ITU. ITU records show that from 1946 through 1957, ITU membership steadily increased from 88,000 to 108,346, a gain of twenty-three per cent. Initiation records show that in the same period, only once did the ITU not initiate 2,000-plus members in a year.[142] What cannot be determined is how many new members worked some place other than newspapers, such as commercial printing plants.

Randolph assuredly erred in selecting the size community in which to battle. The largest city in which Unitypo attempted to publish was Miami (and there it published only a weekly.) In 1952 Miami had a population of 249,276. Only three other cities had populations over 100,000; thus, Unitypo newspapers, for the most part, attempted to compete in cities under 100,000. But in 1952, one publisher stated: "It is generally conceded among newspaper accountants that no community under 100,000 population can adequately support more than one daily newspaper."[143] Yet Randolph plotted the *Daily News-Digests* "on a typically small town basis with small town experience behind them and (they) should pay their own way on small circulations up to 10,000 to 12,000 daily."[144] Between 1948 and 1958 the total number of daily newspapers in cities under 100,000 increased by four,[145] hardly worth

measuring and indicative of how professionals viewed the feasibility of starting newspapers in cities of this size.

Randolph also chose a less-than-strong economic period to publish newspapers. Between 1929 and 1947, 306 daily newspapers died while only 145 started.[146] Related to that is a survey of revenue and expenses *Editor & Publisher* began conducting in 1946. In 1947 in the circulaton category of 10,000 to 25,000, expenses increased 26.34 per cent over 1946 while revenues went up 23.21 per cent.[147] Similar surveys for 1948 through 1953 show the same problem: newspapers were having financial problems. "Profit-wise," the trade magazine reported in its 1950 yearbook, "at the end of 1949, many newspapers were not as well off as in former years due to high costs."[148]

In 1950 the American Newspaper Guild debated going into the daily newspaper business. Delegates at the Guild's annual convention discussed the issue until dawn and agreed "that producing newspapers is not a shoestring operation." They offered a referendum authorizing the investment of $50,000 to help publish strike newspapers.[149] ($50,000 was Unitypo's seed four years earlier.) The membership rejected the proposal, 7,426 to 3,192.[150]

In 1951 *Editor & Publisher* reported a net loss of eight daily newspapers.[151] Some years, of course, the magazine could report a net gain in the number of daily newspapers. Still, the evident facts were more bleak than bright; and in 1954 the newspaper circulation groups suffering most were the smallest and the largest dailies.[152] The year 1954 was the best for small dailies;[153] that was the year the ITU shut down all of its *Daily News-Digests*.

In those years of high costs, the ITU chose not only to publish newspapers that employed striking members – a traditional ITU strike weapon – but to publish newspapers that had to pay their own way – an atypical standard for strike newspapers of the past. Given that stated goal, it is necessary to evaluate Unitypo, in part, by its financial statements and to raise doubts about the wisdom of the publishing venture when those statements show year after year of losses.

Overall, the ITU seems to have gone into the publishing business at the wrong time. Furthermore, it spent a great deal of money but had little to show for it. Unitypo was a bad investment. Instead of keeping seventeen newspaper shops in the ITU, the union lost fifteen of them. Unitypo had no provable long-range impact on the newspapers it competed against.

In 1958 the first major act of Woodruff Randolph's successor was to push through an amended policy that allowed for a less-than-rigid closed shop. The move was made to bring the ITU into conformance with the Taft-Hartley Act.[154] One can only speculate what might have happened had Randolph been less adamant about the closed shop. Says one scholar: "By their intransigent attitude, (labor leaders) had lost the power of maneuver. Their overreaction to the Taft-Hartley law tied their hands and they found themselves in a position where they could accept nothing but repeal."[155] Another scholar questions whether Taft-Hartley was everything it was supposed to be and concludes that it did not enslave unions, give employers *carte blanche*, or establish a bill of rights for individual workers:

> Since it was complex, looked in two directions at once, and in addition was poorly drafted and unclear at many points, it

> meant many things to many men. Many descriptions of the Act, each with some basis in fact and experience, differ so widely that it is almost impossible to believe that they refer to the same statue.[156]

Against those odds, the ITU expended a lot of money and energy to fight a large war instead of trying to win small battles.

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NOTES

[1]*Typographical Journal* (referred to hereafter as *TJ*) (September 1947), p. 67.

[2]Philip Taft, *Organized Labor in American History* (New York, 1964), p. 583.

[3]Joseph G. Rayback, *A History of American Labor* (New York, 1959), p. 399.

[4]*TJ* (October 1948), p. 261.

[5]*Editor & Publisher* (referred to hereafter as *E&P*) (Aug. 31, 1946), p. 10.

[6]Donald L. Guimary, "Strike Born Newspapers," *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (Autumn 1969), pp. 594-97.

[7]*TJ* (March 1943), p. 20.

[8]Rayback, p. 365.

[9]*Legislative History of the Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947*. Subcommittee on Labor of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. United States Senate (January 1974), p. 325.

[10]John A. Feigel, *100 Years as a Chartered Union (1952), p. 135.*

[11]Harry A. Millis and Emily Clark Brown, *From the Wagner Act to Taft-Hartley. A Study of National Labor Policy and Labor Relations* (Chicago, 1950), p. 663.

[12]*Ibid*, p. 641. [13]*Ibid*, p. 654.

[14]Seymour Martin Lipset, Martin A. Trow, and James S. Coleman, *Union Democracy, the Internal Politics of the International Typographical Union* (Glencoe, Ill., 1956), p. 21.

[15]*Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*, Harry S. Truman, Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1947 (Washington, D.C., 1963), p. 289.

[16]*Ibid*, p. 290. [17]Millis and Brown, p. 665.

[18]*E&P* (April 30, 1949), p. 123. Figures were provided to *E&P* by the American Newspaper Publishers Association, but fairly match ITU figures, which include strikes/lockouts with commercial publishers. ANPA listed newspaper strikes/lockouts only.

[19]Given the ideological differences and emotions between labor and management, deciding if a labor dispute was a strike or a

lockout is sometimes difficult. But whether a strike or a lockout, the reasons and results were unaffected. As the ninth circuit of the United States Court of Appeals was to say in a suit that developed years later, "Whether the rupture in relations between Scott and its employees was a strike or a lockout is not clear. However, which it was is immaterial to this case." The issue in this case was restraint of trade. *Scott Publishing Co., Inc., Appellant, v. Columbia Basin Publisher, Inc., et al,* Appellees, *Federal Reporter*, Vol. 293 F.2d 15 (1961), p. 18.

[20]*E&P* (July 14, 1945), p. 66; *TJ* (October 1945), p. 193; Charles P. Barry, ed., 1948 *Collier's Year Book* (New York, 1948), pp. 374-75.

[21]In 1949, for example, the Ontario Labor Relations Board ruled that the ITU no longer represented printers in Hamilton, where the strike against the *Spectator* had begun in 1947. *E&P* (Feb. 14, 1959), p. 10.

[22]*Labor Relations Reference Manual* (Washington, D.C.), Vol. 21, pp. 2554-55.

[23]*E&P* (April 3, 1948), pp. 9-10.

[24]*LRRM 22*, p. 2586. *Evans v. International Typographical Union et al*, N. 1587, Oct. 14, 1948, U.S. District Court, Southern District of Indiana.

[25]*E&P* (May 16, 1953), p. 7.

[26]Testimony of Woodruff Randolph, Hearings before the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, Eighty-Third Congress, Part 2, p. 1681.

[27]Testimony of Woodruff Randolph, Hearings before the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, Eighty-Third Congress, Part 2, pp. 646 and 653.

[28]*Ibid*, p. 647.

[29]*E&P* (Oct. 14, 1950), p. 80.

[30]Harry Kelber and Carl Schlesinger, *Union Printers and Controlled Automation*, (New York, 1967), p. 39.

[31]*E&P*, (April 30, 1949), p. 123; (Oct. 14, 1950), p. 80.

[32]*TJ* (September 1951), p. 141.

[33]*E&P* (Jan. 29, 1949), p. 54.

[34]Kelber and Schlesinger, pp. 33-34, 37, 51; *E&P*, (Feb. 28, 1948), p. 6; Senate hearings of fn. 27, p. 1262. One of the jobs of a printer is operating a Linotype machine, in essence, typing on a keyboard that eventually produces type cast in lead slugs. A personal example: The last unionized newspaper I worked for had eight Linotype machines – five operated by five individuals and three operated by one person. The three were tape driven and one person could feed tape to three at a time and fairly keep up with the typesetting. Prior to the introduction of tape, wire copy was set "by hand," that is, by a Linotype operator, presumably an ITU member.

[35]*TJ* (January 1946), p. 14.

[36]*TJ* (April 1953), p. 186.

[37]*TJ* (November 1946), p. 201. The ITU has published monthly financial statements in its magazine since 1853, the year after the union began in Cincinnati, Ohio, as the National Typographical Union. Such information includes receipts from individual locals and benefits paid to individual locals.

[38]*TJ* supplement (July 1947), p. 25. Any listing designated as "supplement" or containing a letter as part of the page number (i.e., 7u) is the union's annual convention proceedings, which offer transcript-like accounting of each convention.

[39]*TJ* (November 1947), p. 378.

[40]*TJ* supplement (July 1948), p. 49. The *Trentonian*'s twenty-fifth anniversary edition says it was started as a weekly on June 15, 1945, by Sam Jacobs and acquired by the ITU eighteen months later. F. Gilman Spencer, "Informal History of an Impossibility," *Trentonian* (Oct. 15, 1971), p. 3.

[41]*TJ* supplement (July 1948), pp. 107-08.

[42]*TJ* (March 1949), p. 130.

[43]*TJ* (September 1952), pp. 6u-7u. As will be seen, this philosophy changed when Unitypo began publishing *Daily News-Digests*.

[44]*E&P* (Oct. 14, 1959), p. 80.

[45]*TJ* (September 1951), p. 132.

[46]*TJ* (December 1949), p. 409.

[47]*E&P* (Jan. 3, 1976), p. 51.

[48]*TJ* (September 1955), p. 90. As far as I can tell, Unitypo's support of this newspaper did not become public knowledge until 1955.

[49]*TJ* (August 1951), pp. 58-59.

[50]Ibid.

[51]*E&P* (July 21, 1951), p. 7.

[52]*TJ* (September 1951), p. 130.

[53]Interview with Helmut Golatz, July 21, 1977. At the time of the interview, Golatz was head of the Department of Labor Studies at the Pennsylvania State University

[54]*TJ* (September 1951), p. 140.

[55]*TJ* (July 1953), p. 13.

[56]*Washington Post* (Dec. 2, 1970), p. B6. This is Shelton's obituary, which makes no mention of Shelton's work for NNS.

[57]*CIO News* (April 27, 1953), p. 3. This is a story announcing that Shelton will write a column, "It's Your Washington," for the *News*. As in the *Post* obituary, no mention is made of his NNS work, which immediately preceded his work for the *News*.

[58]*E&P* (April 24, 1954), p. 16; and *TJ* (May 1954), p. 27.

[59]*E&P* (April 3, 1954), p. 14.

[60]Determining the length of publication is difficult, given the ITU's secrecy about its sponsorship of some newspapers. When the *Typographical Journal* revealed the existence of a Unitypo paper, it was often with an "Oh, by the way" approach and seldom with an exact birthdate. *Editor & Publisher* was no more informative in this regard. The ITU's use of anonymity avoided "tainting" its newspapers with the union label.

[61]Unitypo also financed a weekly in Miami, the *Journal*, and a daily in Somerville, N.J., the *Star*. Neither lived longer than five years.

[62]*E&P* (July 13, 1963), p. 61.

[63]Guimary, p. 595. One *Digest* publisher, Merrick M. Hill of Meriden, Conn., said that selling advertising was difficult because merchants were not convinced the union newspapers were permanent. The merchants did, however, like the fact that they had competing newspapers. *E&P*, (Nov. 3, 1951), pp. 9, 20.

[64]*TJ* (September 1951), p. 6u.

[65]*E&P* (Nov. 3, 1951).

[66]Interview with Golatz.

[67]*E&P* (Nov. 3, 1951), pp. 9, 20.

[68]*Ibid*, p. 9.

[69]*TJ* (July 1948), pp. 107-08.

[70]*E&P* (Nov. 3, 1951), p. 9.

[71]*E&P* (Sept. 17, 1949), p. 50.

[72]*E&P* (Aug. 27, 1955), p. 8. The NRLB's regional office declined to hear the case because the newspaper grossed less than $500,000 a year. *Editor & Publisher* reported.

[73]Letter to the author from Carter H. White, publisher of the Meriden (Conn.) *Record-Journal*, Jan. 17, 1977.

[74]*E&P* (Sept. 26, 1959), p. 123.

[75]293 F.2d 15 (1961) fn. on pp. 19-20.

[76]Interview with Golatz.

[77]*E&P* (Feb. 16, 1952), p. 10.

[78]*TJ* (March 1952), p. 120.

[79]*E&P* (March 1, 1952), p. 11.

[80]Interview with Byrne, June 29, 1976.

[81]*TJ* (November 1966), p. 203.

[82]*TJ* (October 1940), p. 482.

[83]*TJ* (October 1942), p. 567.

[84]*TJ* (January 1943), p. 7.

[85]*TJ* (April 1944), pp. 195-97.

[86]*TJ* (June 1944), p. 369.

[87]*TJ* (August 1940), supplement, p. 51.

[88]*TJ* (February 1942), p. 173.

[89]*TJ* (July 1958), p. 7.

[90]Senate hearings of n. 27, p. 663.

[91]*TJ* (June 1947), pp. 348-49.

[92]*TJ* (September 1947), supplement, p. 68.

[93]*Ibid*, p. 117. [94]*Ibid*, p. 71.

[95]*Ibid*, pp. 74-75.

[96]*TJ* (September 1948), supplement, p. 116.

[97]*Ibid*, p. 122.

[98]*E&P* (Aug. 27, 1949), p. 7.

[99]*TJ* (September 1949), supplement, p. 83.

[100]*Ibid*, p. 53.

[101]*TJ* (January 1949), p. 9.

[102]*TJ* (April 1950), p. 317.

[103]*TJ* (May 1950), p. 409.

[104]*TJ* (July 1950), p. 61.

[105]*E&P* (June 8, 1946), p. 24.

[106]*E&P* (Aug. 25, 1951), p. 7.

[107]*TJ* (September 1952), p. 24u.

[108]*TJ* (May 1954), p. 313.

[109]*TJ* (July 1954), p. 37.

[110]*TJ* (September 1954), supplement, *passim*.

[111]*TJ* (May 1954), p. 278. That was the extent of union publicity — one small article.

[112]*TJ* (June 1956), p. 371; Randolph 44,123; Laurence H. Victory, 33,723.

[113]*E&P* (Nov. 26, 1957), p. 68.

[114]*TJ* (May 1958), p. 195. He won easily, 44,735-34,953. *TJ* (July 1958), p. 16.

[115]House hearings, pp. 1685-86, first cited in fn. 26.

[116]Here and in other unfootnoted places I am using figures I put together from financial reports published in *Typographical Journal*. A listing of year-by-year defense expenses appears in *TJ* (July 1973), pp. 43s-44s.

[117]*TJ* (December 1953), p. 289.

[118]*TJ* (September 1955), supplement, p. 91s.

[119]*LRRM*, 24, p. 7.

[120]*E&P* (Sept. 13, 1952), p. 80.

[121]*TJ* (August 1955), p. 65.

[122]*TJ* (May 1956), p. 256.

[123]*E&P* (Sept. 6, 1965), p. 44. The paper did not live long enough to make one issue of *Editor & Publisher*'s yearbook.

[124]*TJ* (April 1968), p. 152.

[125]*E&P* (Feb. 22, 1975), p. 11.

[126]*E&P* (Nov. 3, 1951), p. 9.

[127]*TJ* (September 1951), p. 135.

[128]The *Sun* died in 1962, only to be reborn as the *Star*, which leased its building and equipment from the union but which got its money from a Jamestown industrialist. *E&P* (Sept. 15, 1962), p. 28. The *Star*, not a Unitypo paper, died Nov. 22, 1963, shortly after its major financial backer died.

[129]*TJ* (September 1952), p. 12u.

[130]*Editor & Publisher* yearbooks 1951, 60,162, p. 142; 1952, 57,149, p. 152; 1954, 61,236, p. 162.

[131]*TJ* (July 1956), supplement, pp. 6s-7s.

[132]*TJ* (October 1956), p. 57s.

[133]Letter to author cited in fn. 73.

[134]*E&P* (Oct. 17, 1959), p. 12.

[135]293 F.2d 15 (1961), p. 20.

[136]*Ibid*, p. 23n, p. 25.

[137]As best I could, given the vagueness of the sources, I estimated the lifespan of all failed

Unitypo papers and then calculated the average. As stated in fn. 60, birthdates of Unitypo papers were casually mentioned. The same is true for their demise.

[138]Lipset, et al. p. 409.

[139]Theresa Rogers and Nathalie Friedman, *Printers Face Automation*, (Lexington, Mass., 1980), *passim*.

[140]I compiled this information by writing to the publishers of all seventeen affected newspapers in sixteen communities. One community, Charleston, W.V., has two dailies.

[141]A. Sandy Bevis, "Amendments to National Labor Relations Act Necessary to Facilitate Union Organization," *TJ* (September 1977), p. 5. At the time, Bevis was the president of the ITU.

[142]*TJ* (July 1976), pp. 72 and 75.

[143]*E&P* (June 21, 1952), p. 13. Charleston, W.V., was and is an exception, although the independently owned competing papers there have shared a printing plant since March 2, 1958, hardly a sign of vitality. *E&P* (March 8, 1958), p. 69. Springfield, Mo., also had competing - but not separately owned - dailies.

[144]*TJ* (September 1951), p. 140.

[145]Christopher H. Sterling and Timothy R. Haight, eds., *The Mass Media: Aspen Institute Guide to Communication Industry Trends* (New York, 1978), p. 23.

[146]*E&P* (Feb. 3, 1951), p. 28.

[147]*E&P* (April 17, 1948), p. 18.

[148]*Editor & Publisher Yearbook*, 1950, p. 17.

[149]*E&P* (July 8, 1950), p. 8.

[150]*The Guild Reporter*, (Oct. 13, 1950), p. 7.

[151]*Editor & Publisher Yearbook*, 1951, p. 19.

[152]*E&P* (April 10, 1954), p. 7.

[153]*E&P* (April 16, 1955), p. 7.

[154]*E&P* (Aug. 23, 1958), p. 9.

[155]Taft, p. 590.

[156]Millis and Brown, p. 655.

Julian Ralph: Forgotten Master of Descriptive Detail

By Thomas Connery

Although Julian Ralph's name usually comes up in any discussion of outstanding reporters of the nineteenth century, he never attained the lasting fame or popularity of such reporters as Richard Harding Davis, Stephen Crane or Jacob Riis, among others. He certainly deserves to be remembered because his journalistic credits were equal to that of any reporter of the time. They included writing and reporting for major newspapers and magazines, producing a series of Western travel sketches, and covering the world's major events such as Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, the Greco-Turkish War, the crowning of the Czar of Russia, the Boer War, and the Spanish-American War. Ralph also was one of the star reporters Hearst snatched away from his competitors to work on his *Journal*, and he was a regular contributor to *Harper's*. Later, Irvin Cobb would talk of Ralph as one of the groundbreakers of what Cobb called the "Time of the Great Reporter," and Frank M. O'Brien would go so far as to call Ralph "the greatest individual reporter of his time."[1] A reporter of such apparent stature merits closer examination. What follows is a look at the nature of Ralph's writing style, with the hope that such an analysis not only will help illuminate his journalistic achievement, but also will contribute to the much-needed study of the development of journalistic writing style.

Ralph's contemporaries respected his reporting for its thoroughness, and admired his writing for its smooth use of extensive detail, and these qualities caught Charles A. Dana's eye in 1875. Dana offered Ralph a job on the *Sun* after reading Ralph's accounts of the Tilton-Beecher adultery trial in the *New York Globe*. Although only 22 years of age at the time, Ralph already had nine years of newspaper experience. He started as a typesetter for a New Jersey newspaper when he was 13, but by the time he was 15 he was reporting the news and developing a reputation as a strong descriptive writer.[2] As a teenager, he operated his own newspaper in New Jersey before becoming an editor for a Massachusetts paper. Prior to working for the *Graphic*, he had worked for the *New York World*.

THOMAS CONNERY (Ph.D., English, Brown University) is an assistant professor of journalism and mass communication at the College of St. Thomas.

All of the New York City newspapers gave extensive coverage to the trial of Henry Ward Beecher, the orator and abolitionist pastor of Plymouth Church in Brooklyn. Beecher had been charged by a former associate, Theodore Tilton, with criminal intercourse with Mrs. Tilton, and so the trial was a celebrity event of sorts. The trial lasted six months in 1875, and so provided plenty of opportunity for Dana to read Ralph's articles and note his consistency and thoroughness. Today these articles seem rather traditional in that they are full of detail and very much tell what happened at the trial. But Ralph's articles were not representative of the journalism of the time, as a perusal of Beecher-Tilton pieces in other newspapers reveals. Except for Dana's *Sun*, newspapers in the 1870s were characterized by a stilted style common to formal writing of the time, and such was the case with the writing on the Beecher-Tilton trial. Ralph's articles were more like those encouraged by Dana at the *Sun*, while the *New York Times* accounts were typical. For example, here is the opening paragraph from one of the *Times* articles:

> The proceedings in reference to the Beecher-Tilton suit, which were had in Brooklyn yesterday, by their surroundings afforded but a faint index of the interest regarding it felt by the community at large.[3]

Now consider an opening paragraph by Ralph:

> At a quarter past ten o'clock this morning the broad halls of the Brooklyn City Court House were alive with impatient people moving restlessly about with tickets of admission in their hands. When the door was opened the doorway was arched full of struggling people, and for a moment became impassable. Then two rival queues were formed, and slow and frequently interrupted progress was made.[4]

The *Times* articles gave all the information relevant to the trial, but they tended to be vague or imprecise when describing the courtroom scene or the participants. Readers were told, for instance, that Beecher "was dressed in his usual plain style," with no further explanation of what that "plain style" might have been. Or the *Times* noted that Mrs. Beecher "was with him sitting on his left hand," but nothing was said about her otherwise. Quite often the *Times* would say what happened but would not be specific:

> The examination of the juryman, even in unimportant cases, always has its ludicrous phase, and in the pesent suit, not withstanding its gravity and the efforts of the court to keep order, some rather amusing scenes occurred. With all the jurors, those subtle distinctions, those near shadings, which exist between impressions, belief, opinion and judgment, were finely and closely weighed. Mssrs. Beach, Sherman...[5]

The article went on to say how interestingly the lawyers worked with the prospective jurors, yet nothing was said to indicate exactly what was

"ludicrous" nor were the readers given the "amusing scenes" nor the artful maneuvering of the lawyers. There was, however, a complete record of the proceedings of the case that followed each account by the reporter. The reader had to search out the ludicrous and amusing aspects in these proceedings.

Ralph, on the other hand, treated the trial as a human drama involving a cast of characters and he was particularly concerned with presenting a vivid picture of those characters. Each participant was distinguished with a physical description, but so were those watching but somehow connected to those directly involved in the trial. For example, when one of Beecher's sons arrived in the court, Ralph told what he saw and gave just a bit of his impression:

> At five minutes after eleven Mr. Shearman, accompanied by Mr. Beecher's second son, arrived. The latter is a tall young man of about twenty years of age. He resembles the Beecher family more than does Colonel Beecher, the eldest son, who is a slim, wiry little fellow. H.B. Beecher is a sedate looking young man, with a very curious high-shaped head and stiff hair erect over the forehead. He has a thin nose, gray eyes, and a reddish moustache.[6]

Through Ralph, the reader saw "a tall man, with white hair and whiskers, thin pale, keen features," another who was "good-looking though somewhat stolid short man....Fair, florid, with brown hair, and light whiskers coming round under the chin," or "a tall, broad-shouldered man, with long, wiry Indian hair that falls to his shoulders and spreads out behind his ears like a bag wig," and still another with "sparce, iron-gray locks encircling his head" and with "a white handkerchief about his neck."[7] At one point, Mrs. Beecher was described: "The deep cut lines on either side of her face seemed rigid, but her face might have been cut in marble so white and reposeful was it."[8] When the jury returned to the courtroom after struggling to reach a verdict, Ralph saw "...the jury, hatless and coatless and with fans in their hands, crossing the narrow hall like the pale ghosts in *Richard III.*"[9] What these examples indicate is that Ralph was not just trying to report about the trial in terms of guilt, innocence, and the jousting of lawyers before a judge. Instead he was trying to tell the story of the trial by describing everything he saw, by sweeping the courtroom as a camera might today, perhaps feeling that setting the scene in detail was enough to convey the essence of the human conflict, sufficient enough to tell the story.

The reaction of the participants was as important as the legal battle to Ralph, as the following two selections indicate:

> Mr. Beecher during some of the scathing denunications that ensued, held his face towards the floor. It was flushed, but otherwise did not express emotion. Mrs. Beecher sat steadily looking at the speaker. Her face was cast down, and her eyes directed upward under her sharply cut brows, gave her a peculiar aspect, suggestive of mingles of anger and watchfulness. The corners of her mouth were drawn down and added to the

> sternness of her expression. Once when the speaker stated that his client could not, of course, produce direct evidence to prove his charges, Mrs. Beecher turned towards her husband with a smile, but soon resumed her look of bitterness. As the warmth of the room began to be felt Mr. Beecher threw off his own heavy cloak and assisted his wife to remove her velvet cloak. Beneath it was a handsome blue shawl. During the entire speech Mr. Beecher looked very serious. For the most part he sat as if looking out of the window at the left of the Judge's bench. He had in his hand a small note-book with a yellowish-brown paster-board cover. It was about three inches wide by five inches long. This book was occasionally consulted, and once Mr. Beecher called his wife's attention to some memorandum in it. She smiled and whispered something in his ear...[10]...In his hand he held a few purple hyacinths and a roll of memorandum paper on which dates were written. Mr. Beecher's manner was very different from that of yesterday. He was more agitated and nervous; with his free hand he clutched the rail of his chair with an iron grasp, and when his hold was released his hand trembled visibly. His voice was painfully tremulous and his face much discolored with obtrusive, uncontrollable blood. Blood will tell when Mr. Beecher is agitated. The manner that his nervousness gave him is best...[11]

Other New York City reporters used detail or description in their coverage of the Beecher-Tilton trial. Coverage in the *World*, for example, contained detail, and the accounts were rather lively. But Ralph tended to be more specific and to know how to work his detail into his articles to create a whole piece suffused with the sense of human drama. What Ralph was trying to do was make a "special article" by looking for the "human, pathetic, picturesque, humorous, or peculiar," which he then would "describe as I saw it." More than twenty-five years after he covered the Beecher trial, he wrote that someone wishing to write for a newspaper should not look for "news," which he called "an old-fashioned idea which outsiders will persist in retaining," but to look for scenes or incidents with those human interest elements.[12] What had been a strikingly unusual approach to daily journalism at the time of the Penny Papers had become common and expected by the turn of the century, and Ralph was one of those who showed others how to make any assignment into a human interest story.

Ralph eventually covered major stories for the *Sun*, and continued to fill each article with the descriptive detail necessary for illustration, but occasionally he would turn more directly to narrative, as he did in his account of the final day of the Lizzie Borden trial. Although the trial's concluding scene, with the verdict being read, was ideally suited for narrative treatment, it nevertheless demonstrated another method Ralph used to capture the complete picture. Ralph did not hurry the telling and allowed the scene to unfold, thereby creating tension. As the clerk and jury foreman performed their duties, Ralph told his readers that Borden "was gripping the rail in front of the dock as if her standing up depended upon its keeping its place."[13] Her

eyes had the "rolling gaze of a dying woman," as they looked everywhere about the room "but they saw nothing." When the verdict was read and Borden collapsed, Ralph did not simply say that she fell against the railing, rather she fell against "the heavy walnut rail" hard enough to shake the *Sun* reporter leaning against it twelve feet away. Each narrative detail became part of a carefully painted illustration.

Even when covering the death of Grant, Ralph was not content to simply report the essential facts of the event, but attempted to depict a complete picture through scene setting and description. Most of the details Ralph used in his story can be found in accounts in other New York City newspapers, but the subtle use and organization of those details distinguished Ralph's version. After telling in his opening paragraph that Grant died peacefully, Ralph continued in the second paragraph to build upon the idea of painless, easy death, allowing nature to reflect this theme:

> It was eight minutes past 7 by the clock. Not a leaf stirred on the trees in the warm morning air without, and there was not a cloud in the sky. A splash of midsummer sunlight came in through the open window, and had been falling full upon a portrait of kindly-faced Lincoln which hung on the wall just over the head of the bed and beside a portrait of the dying man himself, and it was just as the last light crept off the frame of the picture to the wall that the General ceased to breathe.[14]

Once again, Ralph placed particular importance on human behavior during and after the event. His description of the deathbed scene, for instance, included a depiction of Mrs. Grant as a woman determined to remain at her husband's side, seeing to his needs, and struggling to communicate with him, regardless of her own weariness. In other words, Ralph did not just report Grant's death, he told the story of the man dying and its effect on those close to him.

From reviewing Ralph's newspaper articles one might speculate that he believed his purpose was to inform, and he did so by being thorough, precise and complete in using typical factual detail but also in using descriptive detail. But his propensity for detail and description also were evident in his magazine pieces, which usually were travel articles (in the nineteenth century sense) or in-depth looks at various parts of the New York-New Jersey area. An article called "Old Monmouth," for instance, appeared in *Harper's* and contained extensive infomation both historical and contemporary. Ralph wrote that the Monmouth area "was the seat of thirty-two watering-places, two dozen being on the sands, and the rest just back of them, on the rivers and lakes of that land of beautiful and varied scenery," adding that it would be worthwhile to name those towns. And he did just that, presenting a paragraph listing of all the towns.[15] His descriptive scenes often mixed past and present:

> The Hook, now five miles long, used to be much smaller and was joined to the Highlands. The Shrewsbury River, which now cuts the two apart, then reached the ocean by an inlet in the narrow

> beach. It is a wrinkled and a bearded old reef of sand dunes and forest, and naturalists say that it is one of the very few places in the Eastern States where primeval conditions remain, and where are found flowers and plants which once were common, but now are almost extinct.
>
> There is a great stone light-house on Sandy Hook which was built in 1764 by the leading merchants...

Whether Ralph was writing about a reef, Methodist campground or a bird, as he did in the Monmouth article, his description and detail were designed to create a vivid picture in the reader's mind, complete and real. In the same article, for example, he took more than a column to describe the flight of an osprey but did it in a series of simple, concise sentences.

The Monmouth article contains no dialogue, but another *Harper's* article by Ralph shows just how he could depend upon and use extensive dialogue, as well as dense detail and description. This is from "Where Time Has Slumbered," an article on West Virginia written after Ralph went there deer hunting and for "relics of a by-gone era":

> "Can I come in ?" said the hunter from New York, pausing in the open doorway.
>
> "Yass; come in and hev a warm," said a man who sat before some blazing logs in the deep tall recess in the Dutch chimney. "Draw up a cheer by the fire and hev a warm."
>
> "Is this Mrs. Captain's?"
>
> "Yaas," said the man; "Mrs. Cap'n is my sister. She's up above. That's her a'shakin things with her loom-makin' a lettle rag kyarpet for Killis Kyar's folks. Since Killis Kyar's moved into his new house on the valley road his gals is might ticky. And yit' (thoughtfully) "they ain't nothin' like's a ticky as some. When I see the young folks that's so awful nice about hevin' kyarpets on the floor as' curtings on the wonders and that-all, I often say to 'em, 'Ef you-all could see how yer fathers lived without none of them things, you-all wouldn't be so ticky."
>
> "But you've got a carpet here- and curtains," said the stranger.
>
> "Oh, we hev," said the man. "That's Mrs. Cap'n&she's different."[16]

Some of Ralph's articles needed just this type of specific scene involving real characters. Too often, Ralph was content to describe the common types of neighborhood, state or city, allowing the reader to see only general composites, never taking the reader into a shop, or bar, or house to meet the people he observed. This happened in an article on the Bowery.

In that piece, Ralph described the street assiduously: readers learned its dimensions, the look of its buildings, its history and traditions, the nature of its people and establishments.[17] In presenting the people, Ralph told of Bowery toughs and their "East Side Belles," of newsboys, Polish Jews and German immigrants. But he did not "show" us an actual newsboy, belle or

tough: Ralph instead described types from each classification, and that ultimately is unsatisfying and superficial.

The Bowery article, however, also contains several marvelous examples of Ralph's strongest stylistic characteristic: exact and thorough descriptions. For instance, Ralph wrote that the street and window lights of the Bowery "boast the most brilliant illumination of the coarsest and most dazzling sort." But he did not let the reader hang with that somewhat broad claim. He next said that there were 263-he counted them-electric arc-lights, or about 19 to each block, the lights being of the "variety of electric lamp which is produced between two thick carbon-pencils inclosed (sic) in a great cocoanut shaped shell glass."

The rest of the paragraph captured the effect of such illumination, and Ralph asked the reader to picture "the hissing and sputtering, the lightning-like starts and jumps, the alternating flashes and depressions that the glare of the Bowery undergoes." The street was "like a great electric lantern" that made the Bowery the "most brilliant eye in the Argus head of New York, and it is the eye that never sleeps; for when the rest of town is dim, and its bustle is all but hushed, the eye of the Bowery looks out into the night with a gleaming stare that only the rising of the sun is able to intimidate."

As did many journalists of the nineteen century, Ralph tried his hand at fiction. *People We Pass: Stories of Life Among the Masses of New York City,* are tales and incidents about people who lived in and near the Big Barracks tenement of the New York City, people who were Irish and German immigrants and descendants of immigrants who relied on the corrupt political system to help them through their daily affairs. The stories attempted to take the reader inside the lives of a sepcific class of people, and sought to capture the neighborhood by looking at what was behind the news. Ralph brought his powers of observation to these stories as well as his descriptive skills, but he did not bring enough of his imagination and the stories fail as fiction. Most of the stories contain material that could be found crowding many New York reporters' notebooks, and certainly Ralph's, and bear a striking resemblance to much of his reporting in style and tone.

They are full of masses of detail and depict the coarse and ordinary as though Ralph could not leave behind that which he did best in his newspaper articles and magazine travel sketches. But generally the stories contain only flimsy story lines, no themes, an inconsistent tone, and rather than characters, mere figures who pass through the neighborhood. It appears that Ralph was seduced by the notion of "story-telling" so that he assumed that what was necessary to transform his journalism into fiction were the artificially contrived incidents common to popular fiction which he simply attached to his blocks of generally factual information and sections of dialogue. Ralph gave his readers a look into a New York City immigrant neighborhood, just as he had given an earlier group of readers a look at the Tilton-Beecher trial or the Borden trial or Grant's death. Although the *People We Pass* stories explained more about the neighborhood than typical news accounts, the tales neither have the breadth nor depth of fiction because Ralph never allowed his imagination to weave the ingredients into an artistic whole. Today the stories seem far more factual than fictional, and Ralph said

nearly as much. He described the collection as a "reflection of scenes that have been actually witnessed" when he was a reporter and emphasized that "the author never lived in" such tenements, but

> During more than twenty years as a reporter on the Sun, his duties took him into the tenements and among the tenement folk very, very frequently. They led him to attend weddings, wakes, funerals, picinics, excursions, and dances, as well as to witness the routine of work-a-day life in the swarm...[18]

The nature and content of the stories, along with Ralph's comments, suggest that perhaps such writing should not be treated and assessed as failed fiction but as a distinct form of nonfiction writing that lies between fiction and journalism.

The *People We Pass* stories reveal Ralph as a somewhat detached observer who still sees his purpose as one of informing, but when he later continued to write fiction he turned to a more traditional nineteenth century form of storytelling, more in the romantic mode. In his collection, *A Prince of Georgia and Other Tales*, for example, his subjects are exotic Turks and Russians, affluent Americans, and sterotypical adventurous British, involved in stories that almost always deal with love, action, or adventure.[19]

But significantly, his journalistic style is much in evidence and one finds blocks of description and detail, much of it of the kind found in travel writing or in the dispatches of a foreign correspondent, which Ralph was at this point in his career. Perhaps Ralph, then in his forties, decided that to be a popular writer of fiction he would have to turn to that which attracted the largest audience, and so he became lost in the mass of popular romantic fiction of the period, producing at times entertaining tales, but nothing of promise or finish, or artistic strength.

Booklength efforts such as *A Prince of Georgia* prompted this comment from the *Sun's* historian: "There is better quality in the things he wrote hastily and anonymously for the *Sun* than in some of the eight or nine published volumes that bear his name, and the reason for this is that he was primarily a newspaperman."[20] Essentially that assessment is correct. Ralph was a better journalist than fiction writer, and his best journalism can be found in newspapers, although his magazine articles contain much of merit as well. But he succeeded because his skills were ideally suited to journalism, as the writing analyzed here indicates. He was a keen observer who noticed the smallest detail. Those details, however, were no better than a stenographer's report unless they were used perceptively for effect, and Ralph did just that. His precise, accurate details were not simply piled one on the other, as we have seen, but were carefully organized to reflect a tone and mood common to storytelling. At the beginning of Ralph's book about being a journalist, he promised the reader "incident, example, illustration, and story to clarify and illuminate the text."[21] He could have made the same promise to readers of his journalism, because he provided illustration to illuminate facts through his masterful use of descriptive detail, and in doing so became one of the top reporters of his time.

NOTES

[1] Irvin S. Cobb, *Exit Laughing* (Indianapolis: 1941), p. 352. Frank M. O'Brien, *The Story of the Sun* (New York: 1928), p. 245. O'Brien also praised Ralph in the first edition of *The Story of the Sun* (New York: 1918), but he did not use the same unequivocal language.

[2]Biographical information on Ralph is sparse. See O'Brien, *The Story of the Sun*, and "The Death of Julian Ralph," *New York Times*, Jan. 21, 1903, p. 2, "Julian Ralph Dead," *The Sun*,, Jan. 21, 1903, p. 3. Ralph's autobiographical book, *The Making of a Journalist* (London and New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1903), is rather vague and imprecise about times and places.

[3]"The Beecher-Tilton Suit," *New York Times*, Jan. 5, 1875, p. 1.

[4]"The Beecher Trial Begun," *New York Graphic*, Jan.6, 1875, p. 478.

[5]"The Beecher-Tilton Suit," *New York Times*, Jan. 6, 1875, p. 1.

[6]"The Tilton-Beecher Jury," *New York Graphic*, Jan. 6, 1875, p. 478.

[7]The last description is from the Jan. 11 article, the others are from the Jan. 6 article.

[8]"The Trial of Beecher," *New York Graphic*, Jan. 12, 1875, p. 521.

[9]"Seven to Five," *New York Graphic*, June 26, 1875, p. 898. Beecher got off because of a hung jury.

[10]"The Beecher Trial Begun," *New York Graphic*, April 2, 1875, p. 248.

[11]"Testimony of Mr. Beecher," *New York Graphic*, April 2, 1875, p. 248.

[12]Ralph, *The Making of a Journalist*, p. 11 and p. 10.

[13]*Sun*, June 21, 1893, p. 1. This selection is reproduced in O'Brien, pp. 318-19. The complete article took up a full column on page one of the *Sun*, and about half of the entire second page.

[14]Ralph, "Death of Gen. Grant," *The Sun*, July 24, 1885, p. 1. It becomes clear later in the article that the sources of Ralph's information were the doctors and relatives who were with Grant when he died.

[15]Ralph, "Old Monmouth," *Harper's Magazine*, 89 (Aug. 1894), p. 327.

[16]"Where Time Has Slumbered," *Harper's Magazine*, 89 (Sept. 1894), pp. 613-14.

[17]Ralph, "The Bowery," *Century*, 43 (Dec. 1891), pp. 227-37.

[18]Ralph, *People We Pass: Stories of Life Among the Masses of New York City* (New York: 1896), pp. VI, V.

[19]Ralph, *A Prince of Georgia and Other Tales* (New York: 1899) p. 43.

[20]O'Brien, *The Story of the Sun*, pp. 330-331.

[21]Ralph, *The Making of a Journalist*, p. 2. In addition to the books referred to in this article, Ralph wrote *Alone in China and Other Stories* (New York: 1897), *An American with Lord Roberts* (New York: 1901), *An Angel in a Web* (New York and London: 1893), *Dixie: Southern Scenes and Sketches* (New York: 1895), *The Millionairess* (Boston: 1902), *On Canada's Frontier* (New York: 1892), *Our Great West* (New York: 1893), *The Sun's German Barber (New York: 1883)*, *War's Brighter Side: The Story of "The Friend" Newspaper* (New York: 1901).

Book Reviews

Review Essay: International Press Systems in Historical Perspective

Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960. *By John M. MacKenzie.* Dover, N.H.: Manchester University Press, 1984. 277 pp. Cloth, $35.

The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain: Vol. 2, The Twentieth Century. *By Stephen Koss.* Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984. 718 pp. Cloth, $34.

The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa. *By William A. Hachten and C. Anthony Giffard.* Madison, Wis.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1984. 366 pp. Cloth, $27.50.

The study of international communication and comparative press systems in the U.S., firmly stationed in a theoretical vacuum, enjoyed at times the status of a paragon rather than the paradox that it is. Apart from a few institutions of higher learning which maintained a commitment to this area of journalism inquiry during the last three or four decades, there has been little progress in research and teaching of international press systems rooted in a philosophical characterization rather than in a popular caricature. The university, ideally immune, proved prone to the changing nature of international relations of this century. Consequently, the teaching and research of international communication suffered from an adherence both to the status quo and to the zeal to modernize the developing world in a western mold. Despite positive signs of interest and activity among teachers and students, international communication lacked for too long a focus and integration to legitimize itself as a full-fledged field of study.

During the last four decades this area of journalism studies went through several phases of scholarship ranging from export of modernization and economic development concepts to the analyses of problems and prospects vis-a-vis the new world information order, space information technology, and so on. Research trends followed the post-Second World War interest in a largely indifferent developing world with a concern for understanding and for modernization whereby native solutions became universal answers. Moreover,

the mesodermal layers within the particular body of knowledge began to surface, treating and expanding the "issues" in international communication with a policy orientation. Significant areas of research involved political modernization, economic development, values and culture, images, the role of the professional journalist, public opinion and propaganda, the new world information order, systems concepts, new technologies of communication, etc.

In effect, the emphasis of study shifted by the decades with no permanence: press theory and systems in the 50s, communication and development in the 60s, news values, the Great Debate, and NWIO during the 70s. However, theory-building seemed to lack the vitality the field deserved; lacking therefore was a commitment to the study of historical and philosophical underpinnings of the whole area of inquiry.

Notably, the study of international communication suffered from a lack of the crucial blend with scholarship, emanating from different areas of the world in the context of their own historical and cultural settings. The inability of American scholarship to digest European, Asian, African and Latin American strains of research, social thought and intellectual ideas perpetuated such a theoretical vacuum as I refer to. Passing examples include Jaques Ellul (on propaganda), Raymond Williams (on press concepts), the valuable ideas from Germany via Tonnies, Weber, Small, Ross, and Knies, to name a few, and the relevance of Marx, Gandhi, Tito, Nehru, Nasser and Nkrumah – again, to name a few. If there is irrefutable evidence of the imbalance of information flow it is clearly in the transfer of ideas. Is it really because theory does not travel well or is it our failure to transcend a sort of ethnocentricity in our scholarship? The so-called "safari scholars" whose contributions provided a polarized anomaly, the "theory-builders" who studied as many cultures as possible to arrive at generalizations, and the "instant experts" who researched an unknown area on a summer grant could not effectively penetrate the vacuum. With a few exceptions, there was rarely a concerted effort on theory-building which incorporated European and Third World scholarship. Is it possible in the first place? Attempt at success is often as illuminating as success itself. The study of complex histories and of interplay between the press and ideology in their proper settings reveal insights into the true nature of communication and society. If we focus on the ideology, philosophy, history and power of authority we can understand the outlook and function of a particular press system.

By doing so we achieve a greater purpose – steadily arriving at a body of knowledge necessary for theory in international communication studies. Refreshingly, recent contributions to the field add a definite theoretical depth. John MacKenzie, a history lecturer at the University of Lancester, explores the powerful image of the imperial Britain in *Propaganda and Empire.* The role of mass communication during 1880-1960 in propagating the imperial image is convincingly portrayed; by doing so the author has given us a brilliant historical look at the changing nature of the press and political authority in Britain. Recent literature in the field deals extensively with the impact of the Crown on the colonies. MacKenzie's work, on the other hand, projects the theme inward: the image of the imperial idea on the people of Britain, and how the media played a vital role in such an image-

building and image-keeping. The author documents communication as an effective tool for individuals and groups in manipulation of imperial symbols for the desired public opinion of the day.

Imperial symbols are an essential part of British social history; the role the press and other media played in creating a world view for the British was central to their perceptions of themselves. The author demonstrates that contrary to the idea that British official propaganda was born and matured during the First and Second World Wars, imperial propaganda was one of the primary official propagandistic activities during the last quarter of the 19th century. The power of official propaganda agencies extended deeply into the educational system, the armed forces, the churches and missionary movements, and forms of public entertainment – particularly the music hall and exhibitions. Museums, public companies' advertising and marketing techniques, juvenile literature and the cinema embraced along with newspapers the new imperial nationalism while commercial establishments found imperial patriotism profitable.

Study of communication in the context of imperialism yields insights into the British national character, their politics, and the press. The Falklands War of 1982 provides the author an impetuous juxtaposition. This war, he observes, aroused many echoes of the earlier period of popular imperialism – the wildly enthusiastic reception of returning troops and ships, victory parades, the apparent lulling of domestic economic and social discontents, and above all, the jingoistic press. Increasing newspaper circulations, for one, seemed to confirm Hobson's "spectatorial passion" induced by warfare.

The inter-war period historians – influenced by the ideas of the 1920s and 1930s – have often discounted imperialism as having any significance for the public at large. But MacKenzie's masterful research proves otherwise. Through a synthesis of historical data ranging from education to theatre, the author proves that imperialism had a significant bearing on problems of leisure, ideology and social discipline. His particular emphasis on the *atmosphere* of imperialism provides new insights into popular imperialism which gradually secured dramatic new cultural and institutional expressions. Blending British imperial history with domestic propaganda, *Propaganda and Empire* offers popular imperialism as a focus for the examination of mass media in an attempt to underline the strengths and durability of such imperial propaganda. The author convincingly establishes imperialism and its related reverence for royalty and other elements of authority, its racial ideas, and its national complacency and conceit, as a core ideology in British society between the 1880s and the 1950s; the complacency, the author observes, that proved such a barrier to Britain's economic progress. This work is valuable to students of press criticism and history of socio-political involvement of the press in contemporary issues.

Stephen Koss' book, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain*, concludes the two-volume survey of the evolving relationship between journalism and party politics in modern Britain. His first volume, highly acclaimed by the British press, investigated that relationship during the 19th century.

The second volume deals with the period lasting from 1900 to the present;

this work provides one with an incredible journey through the tribulations and exultations of the press lords and political leaders. The analysis the author provides here has a bearing on the study of the press as an institution, a medium of special interest groups or individuals serving particular political and business segments of society. The author, a professor of history at Columbia University, provides an indepth backdrop against which the interaction between press, politics, public opinion and newspaper ownership patterns can be studied. Politics between major publishers themselves are as intriguing as those between the press lords and political leaders. Blessedly, the author's engaging writing style makes this lengthy work enjoyable to read.

With larger investments and usually fewer scruples than their Victorian mentors, this century's British political leaders continued to use the press as a platform for their politics, antagonisms and ambitions. The party press, which lingered longer than it did in the U.S., both enjoyed and loathed the techniques of political leaders that were reflected in successive shifts of electoral allegiance, subtle changes in the moral climate at Westminister and the deterioration of market conditions on Fleet Street. *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain* is a penetrating analysis of the press lords' role in creating, sustaining and advancing party politics that happened to legitimize their own showing in the marketplace, catering to their ambitions and fragile egos. The work, consequently, raises questions of power in politics and of communication.

This amazing work, detailed and intricate, deals with Britain's major publishers from Northcliffe to Murdoch. Koss documents the enormous power of the press in politics from 1918 and its steady decline since then. For example, Northcliffe could literally make and unmake Cabinet ministers. Even in foreign affairs, the London *Times* was so influential that its leading articles were really studied as semi-official statements of British policy. The extent of interdependence between the press and political leaders, at once brash and sinister, is overpowering. The Tories depended on the press as much as the Laborites; the press needed the parties as much as the parties needed the press – all for blatantly ulterior ends. The press, thus, was an inextricable part of the political status quo.

Politics aside, the economics of competition and adversaries in newspaper publishing remained powerful elements in the play. The owners came to eclipse the editors as provincial journals and metropolitan newspapers continued their decline and grew less confident of their ability to exert influence. The press lords – notorious as they were, Northcliffe, Beaverbrook, Rothermere, Camrose, Kemsley, and the self-effacing Southwood – battled for profits and for power which literally paved the way for the multinational conglomerates' possessing of major surviving newspapers. Public confrontations which barely hinted at the underlying struggles during the two world wars are captured here by Koss. Employing a wide range of manuscript sources, including several collections of private correspondence and diaries never previously consulted, Koss investigates the patterns of persuasion and manipulation in order to weigh their effects on controversies within, between, and beyond parliamentary movements. In the process he has raised additional questions about the nature of public opinion, the ways in which it has been shaped and interpreted, and the heightening interplay between com-

mercial factors and ideological commitment since the 1900s.

Murdoch exemplifies the changing British press system. Though not a Briton, Murdoch fits the mold of British press lords. From the remnants of his father's holdings, Koss writes, Murdoch built an empire that stretched from his native Australia to Britain and soon traversed North America. "Aggressive, itinerant, and outwardly brash, Murdoch personified the new proprietorialism of the 1970s. He seemed as immune to the crises of the decade as he was indifferent to its political controversies...His papers lurched from one party persuasion to another for reasons that were seldom articulated and manifestly were commercial than ideological." The currents have indeed shifted; but then, the more things change the more they don't. Koss' work is a splendid piece of research that aids the study of journalistic work ethics in the context of power in international settings.

William Hachten and Anthony Giffard have authored by far the most comprehensive work on the South African press. *The Press and Apartheid* is a masterful account of the history and philosophy of the press in that beleaguered country with all its trappings of propaganda and censorship that prevail in a militaristic society.

South Africa is the most powerful state in southern Africa in both economic and military terms; the society is one of the most complex in the world. Politics and policy are the crux of that society. The policy of *apartheid*, with its beginnings in Jan van Riebeeck, the first governor of the Cape, who planted a hedge of thorn and wild almonds to separate the Dutch from Khoi Khoi (Hottentols), continues to shape the fundamental character of South Africa. Certainly from 1652 whites acquired more land in South Africa. When the Union of South Africa was created in 1910, land for Africans became a political issue. In 1948 the (Afrikaner) National Party came to power and has remained in power with the support of a whites-only electorate. A narrow, nationalistic, right-wing party, it stood for *Baaskaap*, keeping blacks in their place. In the late 1950s and early 60s, the party quickly moved to eliminate all effective opposition to consolidate its position. The party, under the premiership of Verwoerd in the early 1960s, reaffirmed its faith and articulated the powerful racial ideology – the *apartheid*, Afrikanerdom's blueprint for survival. Several other policies provided the basis for the evolution of "separate development," "Bantu homelands," and "multinational development." These policies were implemented primarily as an alternative to domination by black majority; for a minority to rule it must divide the majority.

The press and other mass media occupy a central place in such maneuvers. Hachten, who has done earlier studies on African press systems, and Giffard, a native of South Africa, present us with the first comprehensive history of the legal and political constraints on the press and a descriptive analysis of the media's current status. They explore the governmental pressures – explicit and implicit – to control the dominant and ethnic media, and the journalistic efforts to resist such restraints.

As in the political arena, the struggle for journalistic freedom in South Africa reflects the tension and confrontation between the Afrikaner and African nationalisms. The authors reveal historical roots of such tension and the resultant press-government conflict, suppression of black journalism, role

of broadcast media, the political role of the Afrikaans newspapers, and attempts at covert manipulation of the media. Interesting also is the authors' conceptualization of differing press concepts in the social, political and economic context of Afrikaner, English and Black realities. The authors draw on numerous interviews from a broad spectrum of South Africans, as well as documents and secondary sources. Their contacts and personal experiences serve them well in documenting the continuing tragedy: "evolution of South Africa into a militaristic state." The product is a highly valuable source for journalism students and historians interested in African communications, press and censorship.

Anantha Babbili
Texas Christian University

Review Essay: The "American Crisis," Prophetic Politics, and the Search for Transcendence

Thomas Paine's American Ideology. By A. Owen Aldridge. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1984. 327 pp. Cloth, $38.50.

Walter Lippmann: Cosmopolitanism in the Century of Total War. By D. Steven Blum. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984. 205 pp. Cloth, $19.95.

The political philosophy of Thomas Paine and Walter Lippmann integrated isolationism and cosmopolitanism, politics and morality into an American ideology. Their writings expressed a prodigious search for moral transcendence to revitalize a crisis-ridden political culture. The quest for revitalization, parsed in a prophetic rhetoric, attempted to overcome the mutability of human history. The themes of isolationism and cosmopolitanism in A. Owen Aldridge's portrait of Thomas Paine and D. Steven Blum's reassessment of Walter Lippmann are compelling illustrations of "cultural revitalization" and "prophetic politics" in American intellectual history.

Cultural systems respond to life-threatening stress and distortion with "revitalization movements," according to Anthony F. C. Wallace, and those movements are "deliberate, conscious, organized efforts by members of a society to create a more satisfying culture."[1] Creation of a "more satisfying culture" typically involves vehement denunciation of the existing order coupled with innovative visions of a "new world." Imaginative re-vision of American ideology often is rhetorically mediated by "prophetic politics." According to Neal Riemer, "prophetic politics" is emblematic of a constellation of commitments to "values of a superior universal order," to "fearless criticism of existing politcal orders," to "creative constitutional

breakthroughs," and to "futuristic projection via imaginative scenarios."[2] In addition, prophetic political rhetoric is an amalgam of the Judeo-Christian tradition of oracular radicalism and the Enlightenment tradition of rational science.[3] Whether religious or secular, practitioners of prophetic politics have been philosphers and moralists, reformers and litterateurs, and Thomas Paine and Walter Lippmann are two of its exemplars in American journalism.

"We have every opportunity and every encouragement before us to form the noblest, purest constitution on the face of the earth," Thomas Paine wrote in *Common Sense* (1776). "We have it in our power to begin the world over again....The birthday of a new world is at hand."

With those words and others scattered through his canon, Aldridge argues, Paine articulated a "fundamentally ethical" structure for an American ideology. Actually, Paine's beliefs do not constitute a "formal ideology," he admits, but "a network of intertwining strands." "His system would remain functional even with the removal of some of its parts," Aldridge writes, "but a true ideological network would collapse with the cutting away of any of its constituent links." Paine's American ideology and its constituent beliefs – in America's moral superiority, its historic uniqueness, and its providential mission in the world – are woven into themes of isolationism and cosmopolitanism. Those themes are reflected in Aldridge's textual analysis of three distinct categories of Paine's political writings between 1775 and 1787.

The first category of Paine's corpus, including *Common Sense* (1776) and *The American Crisis* (1776), was written for an American audience living in "the times that try men's souls." His prophetic rhetoric in these "exhortatory sermons" was stridently isolationist. To spur the cause of separation from Great Britain, Paine condemned the institution of monarchy as sinful by using the "forensic device" of quoting Old Testament scriptures. "The Almighty hath here entered his protest against monarchical government," Paine wrote, calling monarchy "the popery of government." The justification for independence made isolation a moral virtue. In *Common Sense,* Paine argued that dependence on Great Britain involved America in shameful European "wars and quarrels." "America neither could nor can be under the government of Britain," he wrote in *Crisis* No. 3, "without becoming a sharer of her guilt, and a partner in all the dismal commerce of death." Paine found it shocking that "one country must be brought into all the wars of another, whether the measure be right or wrong." His *Common Sense* conclusion: "We ought to form no partial connection with any part of it." Paine clearly articulated the doctrine of isolation, Aldridge observes, nearly a quarter century before George Washington's Farewell Address.

Four Letters on Interesting Subject (1776) is the focal point of the second category of Paine's writings, which were written for Pennsylvanias and dealt with the colony's internal affairs. Aldridge ascribes the authorship of *Four Letters*to Paine for the first time based on the "parallels of expression" in *Four Letters, Common Sense* and *Rights of Man* (1791). The significance of *Four Letters* was pointed out in *Pamphlets of the American Revolution* (1965) by Bernard Bailyn, who viewed them as "brilliant sparks" that "lit up the final steps of the path that led directly to the first constitutions of the American

states." In *Four Letters,* Paine affirmed the concept of equality by insisting that moral character is more important than birth or property. Significantly, he urged regular constitutional amendment to prevent the tyranny of history over future generations, an idea Paine reiterated in his *Dissertation on Government* (1786): "As we are not to live forever ourselves, and other generations are to follow us, we have neither the power nor the right to govern them, or to say how they shall govern themselves." With that concept, Paine sought to transcend the moral limitations imposed upon future constitutional governments by parochialism and history.

The third category of Paine's writings, intended for an international audience outside the United States, asserted more cosmopolitan themes. According to Aldridge, this group begins with *A Letter to the Abbe Raynal on the Affairs of North America* (1782), a response to the influential French philosophe's account of the American Revolution. Paine's cosmopolitanism is contained in a key phrase, "the circle of civilization." When he wrote the *Letter,* Aldridge comments, Paine believed that the "circle of civilization" would be completed with the formation of "a type of international society." Aldridge argues that Paine envisioned "an internatonal federation" based on friendship and cooperation when he wrote:

> The true idea of a great nation, is that which extends and promotes the principles of universal society; whose mind rises above the atmosphere of local thoughts, and considers mankind, of whatever nation or profession they may be, as the work of one Creator. The rage for conquest has had its fashion, and its day. Why may not the amiable virtues have the same?

The *Letter to the Abbe Raynal* was not the first instance in which Paine asserted a cosmopolitan motif. In *Crisis* No. 7, he insisted: "My principle is universal. My attachment is to all the world, and not to any particular part." The universal principle of Paine's American ideology deployed cosmopolitanism to transcend the moral defects of self-absorption and conquest in isolationism.

"In an exact sense, the present crisis of western democracy is a crisis in journalism," Walter Lippmann wrote in *Liberty and the News* (1920), a provocative reproof of the wartime press for engaging in the "art of befuddlement."

Propaganda was the springboard for Lippmann's analysis of public opinion, which he projected into a sweeping critique of traditional democratic theory. His search for transcendence, for a "higher law" to overcome the limitations of isolationism in American ideology was, in effect, a moral quest to revitalize politics, Blum argues. For Lippmann, the political revitalization of liberal democracies was an intellectual imperative requiring the realignment of political theory with Twentieth Century realities, a move involving a thorough-going critique of America's antiquated isolationism set against the modernist vision of cosmopolitanism.

Cosmopolitanism pervades Lippmann's opus from *Preface to Politics* (1913) to *Essays in the Public Philosophy* (1955), Blum asserts, and his

lifelong speculative ventures into political theory reveal an evolving search for a philosophy responsive to political realities in "the century of total war." In his reassessment, Blum suggests an alternative to the "unnecessarily restrictive, even simplistic" view of Lippmann as an "ideological vagabond" of American journalism. Although his reputation as Twentieth Century America's premier political journalists was securely established in Ronald Steel's distinguished biography, *Walter Lippmann and the American Century* (1980), Blum attempts to redress the interpretive imbalance that emphasizes his journalism and neglects his philosophy. A political writer and a theoretician, Lippmann pursued a career remarkable for its fidelity to journalism *and* philosophy. "While philosophy may be his love," James Reston commented in 1959, "journalism has been his mistress, and the amazing thing is that he has managed to be faithful to both."

In his reading of Lippmann's cosmopolitanism, Blum finds continuity, coherence and purpose in his political philosophy. By cosmopolitanism, Blum means Lippmann's "mental outlook" was sensitive "to international as well as to domestic affairs," receptive to "diverse currents of opinion from abroad," including "values, ideas and interests of many societies," and his "habits of mind" were "unconstrained by the preoccupations and prejudices of his homeland." More than "catholicity and openess," Blum writes, Lippmann's cosmopolitanism stressed modernity's "burgeoning and unparalleled international interdependence in politics, commerce, thought, and culture" which had rearranged "economic, intellectual, and social conditions...in radically new and imprecisely understood configurations." The United States was enmeshed in new configurations represented by the "central cosmopolitan metaphor" of "the Great Society," a term coined by Lippmann's mentor Graham Wallas in 1914. "It is the mission of liberalism to discern the guiding principles of the transition from the primitive way of life in relatively self-contained communities to a way of life in a Great Society," Lippmann wrote in *The Great Society* (1937), and liberalism must assist "a readaptation of the human race to a new mode of existence." Since Lippmann concluded that boundaries between domestic and international affairs had been obliterated, Blum writes, Lippmann set about to bring the two domains into accord with modern realities.

Put into practice, Lippmann's cosmopolitanism assaulted America's isolationism, its theoretical tendency to view popular government complacently in terms of an antiquated vision of self-contained communities. "We have all of us been educated to isolation," Lippmann wrote, "and we love the irresponsibility of it." America's "isolationism, parochialism and xenophobia" to Lippmann's mind, Blum argues, made traditional democratic ideas incapable of meeting "the challenges of the era." Lippmann's political thought emphasized two overriding concerns, according to Blum: (1) that "the citizenry become more fully cognizant of its integration in a complicated international system of relationships," and (2) that "it recognize the enrichment that could devolve from mature adjustment to these realities, from intensified exposure to ideas and experiences outside the perimeters of everyday experience."

The quest for political revitalization was hinged on the idea of "intelligence" and on the equation of subjective knowledge with isolationism,

rational science with cosmopolitanism. "When men act on the principle of intelligence they go out to find the facts and to make their wisdom," Lippmann wrote in *Public Opinion* (1922). "When they ignore it, they go inside themselves and find only what is there. They elaborate their prejudice, instead of increasing their knowledge." Science was given a central place in Lippmann's thought, for it produced "organized intelligence," a universal cosmopolitan public discourse that went beyond internal subjective prejudices. His exploded vision of science--"Rational procedure is the ark of the covenant of the public philosophy"--transcended the political flux: "There is no set of election laws or constitutional guarantees which are unchangeable," he wrote in *The Public Philosophy*(1955). "What is unchangeable is the commitment to rational determination."

Lippmann's cosmopolitanism contained a moral dimension, a "higher law" that fused the Golden Rule of Judeo-Christian tradition with the rationality of the Enlightment. The Golden Rule was a cosmopolitan moral maxim, a categorical imperative, that recognizes, Lippmann wrote, "the inalienable manhood of other men" as "autonomous persons." The "higher law" of cosmopolitanism established universal standards of conduct and reason to overcome the subjective isolationism of individual and national self-interest. According to Blum's interpretation, Lippmann's cospolitanism insisted that democratic society needed evaluation based on standards that "transcended its own values and rules." Translated into terms of an American ideology, Blum concludes, Lippmann's cosmopolitanism "was concerned not merely that America be protected from the world, but that the world be protected from United States, and ultimately that the United States be protected from itself."

Arising in historic moments of crisis, the dialectic of isolationism and cosmopolitanism in the intellectual history of American ideology, Aldridge and Blum suggest, powerfully asserts itself in the prophetic politics of cultural revitalization. The prophetic rhetoric of Thomas Paine's isolationism and Walter Lippmann's cosmopolitanism deployed strategies of moral denunciation and redefinition to overcome the "American crisis" of their eras. Paine's isolationism provided the infrastructure for an American ideology that Lippmann's cosmopolitanism sought to transcend.

"When the times are out of joint," Lippmann wrote," some storm the barricades and others retire into a monastery." Paine stormed the barricades of an ancient regime with an isolationism that made American ideology a post-Enlightenment expression of political monasticism. In the Twentieth Century, American political monasticism had evolved into another ancient regime that Lippmann's cosmopolitanism heretically sought to reform. Thus, Thomas Paine and Walter Lippmann emerge as two of America's prophetic ideologues engaged in the search for transcendence.

Arthur J. Kaul
University of Southern Mississippi

NOTES

[1]Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," *American Anthropologist*, 56 (1956) 265.

[2]Neal Riemer, "The Future of the Democratic Revolution: Toward a More Prophetic Politics," *Humanities in Society*, 6 (1983) 5-18. Also see Arthur Kaul, "The Prophetic Motif of Charismatic Journalism," *Qualitative Studies*, 10 (1984) 8-11, for a brief discussion of the secularized style of literary prophecy in journalism as a process of cultural revitalization.

[3]Guenther Roth, "Socio-Historical Model and Developmental Theory: Charismatic Community, Charisma of Reason and the Counterculture," *American Sociological Review*, 40 (1975) 148-157.

Review Essay: Culture and Communication in the Content of Mass Media, 1918-1980

Mass Media Between the Wars: Perceptions of Cultural Tension, 1918-1941. By Catherine L. Covert and John D. Stevens, eds. Syracuse University Press, 1984. 252 pp. Index. Cloth, $25.00.

American History/American Television: Interpreting the Video Past. By John E. O'Connor, ed. New York: Federick Ungar Publishing Co., 1983. 420 pp. Index. Paper, $8.95.

While walking up Connecticut Avenue from Dupont Circle to the Washington Hilton in mid-February, I encountered two shabbily dressed man holding a newspaper aloft and shouting to passers-by. He was attempting to give away a paper supporting the activities of the Irish Republican Army. By reading this paper, we could, he said, learn about British butchery in Ireland and why all the British people should be "taken out and executed." His sales pitch ended with a challenge: "Take a copy home to your British friends and watch them commit suicide."

It occurred to me how unlikely it would be for this man's actions or his newspaper to appear in the standard historical treatments of American journalism. But his effort did provide the genesis of a perspective useful, I think, to understanding the work of editors Catherine L. Covert and John D. Stevens in *Mass Media Between the Wars* and of John E. O'Connor in *American History/American Television*. So much of the standard history of American communications describes the professional standard or practices of communication (particularly journalism) or celebrates the achievements of entrepeneurs, editors and writer, or chronicles the contributions of media professionals and institutions to historical processes. Some of the best of this work occasionally moves outside the media mainstream to flesh out the skeletal foundation of standard Whiggish history.

The roots of standard history lie in the need to legitimize both communication practice and scholarship. This remark is not intended to denigrate such history, for my own experience indicates the necessity for such a foundation in universities where commununication seems tolerated only because it contributes steady (or increasing) enrollment in an age of high costs and potential (or actual) decline in student populations. Many of us, I suspect, require the patina of repectability which comes from such mainstream descriptive historical work. Students, too, need such outlines to develop the requisite historical consciousness for understanding the function of communication practice in society and for developing their full competencies as practitioners or educators.

But there is also more to do than provide this basic sketch of history if we seek to explain fully to our students the breadth and variety of communications content in America. For instance, though the economic interpretation of the development, consolidation and redefinition of news, magazine and radio formats, or television network practices is obviously crucial to history, it does not explain the survival of publications such as *The Nation* or the recently-announced intention of Senator Jesse Helms and other conservatives to eliminate the "liberal bias" of CBS news by purchasing enough stock to "take control" of the network. Understanding these activities – and others like them – comes from examining issues such as the dedication to causes championed in specific publications, mobilization and cultivation of a supportive public, or the sense of alienation that may result from attending to media content. In short, knowing the relationship between a media organization and its public helps us understand why media products matter in society. Media don't matter simply because they have large circulations or massive nightly audiences, though we surely need to know such facts. Though the widely-read or viewed medium obviously has more potential impact than the small circulation newspaper or the small market independent television station, this conclusion must be tempered by our knowledge that audiences differ in both their nature and their relationship with various media. A revolutionary movement or terrorist group may stiffen the resolve of wavering and disconnected members by publishing material which repeatedly confirms the worldview justifying social separation or testifying about the necessity of taking disruptive – even murderous – action against the larger society. A radio or television program, even with a relatively small audience by prime-time standards, may provide material which people can appropriate to establish, understand or refine their own sense of identity, value and destiny in the "bloomin' buzzin' confusion" of the world – even though this may be accomplished without conscious intent. A magazine or newspaper with a small but fervent public – willing to believe and to act on its belief may be more significant to society than the economically powerful large-circulation news weekly. Mainstream defintions of significance then – - who began what and when, who was largest, who introduced what innovation, etc. – are not enough.

The signficance of these two books should be understood in this light. Both deserve to be read – and used in history courses – because they contribute to fuller understanding of why media matter to people. They provide clues to the experiences of people in our past by concentrating on the diversity of

content available to them – each with a differing symbolic container for experience – an explanatory mode for every day life. By incorporating such work into the history course otherwise emphasizing the mainstream, students will come to know, for instance, that all print or electronic media are not equallly permanent or ephemeral. They will discover the loaded history of Whiggism which suggests the inevitability of progress toward present conditions.

In general, there is much to commend in these two volumes. They are flawed, of course, but that is inevitable in edited works. Syracuse Univerity Press could have been more careful with its editing or typesetting, for there are three or four places where the reader will encounter nonsense because words were deleted. In Mark Fackler's essay, for instance, a sentence reads, "That which was prized moste tribe" (p. 182). In James Boylan's essay we read, "The federal government also contributed, with its stuat society had charged with reporting such malfunctions, the newspaper, did not itself function well in sizing up the depression" (p. 159). And in John D. Stevens' treatment of the "agrarian myth" by small town editors in the modern age, we are told, "The price of farm lrmer institutes under the auspices of the county agents of the American Farm Bureau" (pp. 23, 24). Such mistakes defy the reader's effort to make sense of portions of each author's introduction.

Covert's and Stevens' volume contains an introductory essay by Warren Susman, 12 substantive studies and a bibliographical essay by Jennifer Tebbe. Susman's essay is excellent, though short. In it he argues for an "ecological" approach to communication, stressing that the central concern of scholars should be the "environment of communications." He provides a particularly compelling conclusion to this essay, beginning with the assertion that, "by the 1920's there had developed a way of thinking about society, culture and communications that was to have significant consequences for communication itself" (p. xxii). Then, in discussing Sherwood Anderson's *Winesburg, Ohio*, he suggests that its central genius was the creation of a "brilliant and central paradox. Here in the age of easy and mass communication of press, movies, radio, automobile, telegraph, telephone, photograph; here in an age when it appears everyone can know what everyone else knows, everyone can know what everyone else thinks; here no real, private, human communication is possible"(p. xxiv). "This theme," Susman then concludes, "the fundamental problem of public versus private communication, and the suggestion that one makes the other impossible – dominates aspects of the culture and is crucial to any understanding of it in the twentieth century" (p. xxv). Communication and culture are thus the warp and woof of modern life, inextricable except by destroying the meaning of everyday experience and its mysterious tension in accomodating private communication in a seemingly ever-public context.

The essays in this book which best illustrate the theme outlined by Susman are those by James E. Murphy on tabloids, Michael Schudson on cigarette advertising to women, Richard A. Schwarzlose on "Technology and the Individual," Sally F. Griffity on the *Emporia Gazette*, and Catherine L. Covert on the American public's response to radio. The reader may legitimately infer, I think, other examples in the essays by James Boylan on literary reportage during the Depression and Mark Fackler on "Moral

Guardians of the Movies and Social Responsibility of the Press." The remainder of the essays, though valuable in themselves, are less concerned with Susman's theme.

Instead of commenting on each of the 12 sustantive essays in Covert's and Stevens' book, I will remark only about seven representative ones, grouped into three categories. The first goup includes three essays, each of which discusses an aspect of journalistic practice. These essays include James E. Murphy's "Tabloids as an Urban Response," Michael Kirkhorn's "The Curious Existence: Journalistic Identity in the Interwar Period," and James Boylan's "Publicity for the Great Depression: Newspaper Default and Literary Reportage."

Murphy argues that the mass appeal urban tabloid emerging in the 1920s helped its readers "to order, to understand and to cope with their own experience in relationship to a new and increasingly complex society" by drawing a dramatic picture of city and world which allowed readers to escape their own narrow and stultifying lives (p. 55). The tabloids emphasized "sensationalism, poignancy and pathos as their stock in trade. Typically they covered sex, sports, and sentiment, with healthy does of crime news thrown in." And they emphasized pictures (p. 58). Murphy concludes that the tabloids helped order the confusion of experience by reducing its complexity to a series of recognizable themes. "In other words, as a specific journalistic genre, the tabloids helped to create and sustain an urban reality for millions through the use of simple and compelling images" (p. 62).

Kirkhorn argues that journalists in the interwar period were tired and resentful of the felt requirement that they "distract and insulate the public from great social and economic problems." This led them, he says, to journalistic cynicism, and to caricature of the public "as a mob clamoring after sensation and celebrity" (p. 128). He identifies Walter Lippmann as a dictator of much of the thinking of his time, and uses him as an archetype of the journalist who distrusted popular thought (pp. 133, 136). Finally, he says, news executives of the period patronizingly "blamed their readers for preferring diversion to information" (p. 137). The result was the belittling of the audience by journalists working as "daydream shapers" (p. 138).

James Boylan's essay provides evidence that newspapers failed to report the onset of the depression, leaving the task "to a small band of litterateurs turned journalists" to define it for Americans (p. 159). Institutional barriers, Boylan says, interfered with newspapers' abilities to cover the depression – "the fear of making things worse, the assumption that the business community *was* the community, past hostility to those who seemed most concerned with the depression – labor and radicals" (p. 162). So conventional news channels were blocked (p. 163). Thus, reporting the depression was left to "writers who were, at that time at least, radicals" (p. 164). This group included Edmund Wilson, Malcolm Cowley, Maruitz Hallgren, John Dos Passos, Sherwood Anderson, Mary Heaton Vorse and others. The most important forum was *The New Republic* (p. 166). Their journalism was "reportage," which combined personal observation, personal sensibility and an editorial goal in a "three-dimensional" report (p. 165). Their writing was not destined for mass audiences and was not necessarily deep. Neither were its topics systematically chosen or reported. It used specific examples for their own sake (p. 170), and

contrary examples which defied social generalizations (p. 173). "It was by definition negative, tendentious, and unfair in that it gave attention only to the wounds in the system" (p. 175).

I do not intend to quibble with any of these authors for I find their contributions to our understanding of journalism in the 1920s and 1930s to be valuable. They would have been more valuable, however, had two other tasks been accomplished. The first task would be a systematic description of the audiences for the three types of journalism. We do know that the audience for urban tabloids was unlike that for *The New Republic*, but who was the audience for cyncial journalists distrustful of the "popular mind?" This could have been a third distinct audience, to be sure, but Kirkhorn's generalizations lead the reader in both directions at once, mentioning the work of Lippmann and H. L. Mencken on the one hand, and then, on the other, suggesting that Lippmannn "held newspaper readers in no higher regard than the editor of any tabloid" (p. 128). Moreover, we know that the audiences for urban tabloids were "urban immigrants," both those who migrated from America's rural areas to her cities, and foreign-born Eastern Europeans who had arrived in the twenty years bracketing the turn of the century and who were learning English from their schooled children, the workplace and newspapers by the 1920s. The attraction of the city to such immigrants was its industry—employment and wages. While Murphy and Kirkhorn are undoubtedly correct in suggesting that newspapers allowed such workers to escape from oppressive lives, the knowledge that this same audience was the principal target of radical newspapers such as *The Daily Worker, The Harlem Liberator*, and *The New Militant* and such magazines as *New Masses* and *Social Justice*, as well as the demogogery of Father Divine, Charles Coughlin, Huey Long and others, must cause the reader to wonder how the audience was divided up by such publications; that is who listened to what, and why.

The second task is related to the first. It requires that the jounalistic practices described be placed in a context of practice, both mainstream and "radical." Kirkhorn's conclusion about the cynicism of jounalists is weakened by his dependence on Walter Lippmann as archetype; Lippmann endures in mainstream history because he was distinctive. And, although Boylan mentions *The New Masses* as the periodical often associated with the genesis of reportage, he concentrates on journalists such as Wilson, Anderson and Cowley as "radicals" though they were named by Michael Gold (editor of *New Masses*) in *The Hollow Men* as lacking true class consciousness. My own study of the thirties suggested to me that those whom Boylan identifies as radicals should be thought of as reformers, since they did not advocate "radical" or revolutionary solutions for America'seconomic problems. The point, then, is not that the authors have failed—for they assuredly have not— but that a larger context would have been useful, particularly if this book is to be used in history courses.

These two tasks would have best been accomplished by a descriptive essay concerning the varieties of reporting occuring during the interwar period. Since Susman's contribution was more conceptual in nature, a second inclusive, but descriptive, essay would have been useful. It is perhaps too critical to suggest that Murphy, Kirkhorn or Boylan should have contributed such information in their work, since they were concentrating on specifics.

And this problem of inclusivity in an edited volume is probably endemic to the form.

Schwarzlose begins by suggesting that the technological explosion of the World War I era "eclipsed even the most spectacular nineteenth century innovation" (p. 88). Radio technology, he continues, promised the possibility of "inexpensive, individually controlled, person-to-person communication" to people and some hoped that it would resurrect the individual's voice in the public arena (p. 89). As with previous technologies, however, radio was institutionalized, its future "largely preordained" by the creation of RCA in 1919 and the "vacuum of congressional indecisiveness" (p. 99). The result: "people experienced radio, and eventually television, only as recipients" (p. 101).

Covert's essay focuses, as she puts it, on the "organizing ideas and images that Americans used to make sense – either intellectal or emotional sense out of what they say and heard as they experienced radio's startling impact on sensibility after the Great War" (p. 199). She argues that a new technology threatens the familiar, and people sense the "loss of old behavior, old values, old relationships, old senses of the self" (p. 200). That loss resembles bereavement. Popular print media, she continues, helped people conserve what was valuable in people's experience by helping them imagine the new technology in terms of the old (pp. 200, 201). These media contained a number of themes, including explanation based including explanations based in religious or spiritual language, connections with other world experience such as use of the telephone, and fantasies. In addition, commentary on radio explored the new ambiguities: "the sense that one was participating, yet alone; in command, yet swept blindly along on the wave of sound" (p. 206), and connection versus alienation: optimistic predictions of strengthened international ties, an enhanced democratic process and revived family closeness though radio, yet feelings of loneliness – being "one of an atomized mass," being separated from all social activity (p. 210). Moreover, "the *process* of radio broadcasting was not the only alienating factor: some of its more unconventional *content* appeared to threaten traditional moral and political beliefs as well" (p. 211). She concludes, "As Americans of the early twenties gave up their complete dependence on newspapers and wireless in order to cope with radio, they experienced an inevitable sense of loss – loss of the feelings of mastery and connection attached to the old means of communication. Print journalism seemed to reflect and respond to the ambiguity of a process like that of grief – providing familiar metaphors and analogies to make these contradictory new experiences more understandable" (p. 212).

These essays are valuable contributions to both historical scholarhip and teaching. But they also carry within them a potentially troublesome inference: that we can know the responses – whether behavioral or cognitive – - of individuals on the basis of discussions which occurred in the press or other institutional forums. (This is a major difficulty, too, with many of the essays in O'Connor's book.) Schwarzlose is more circumspect in this regard than Covert, although he does discuss the individual's status in the changed technological environment created by innovations in both transportation and communication. Covert, however, suggests that popular press or historical accounts (for instance, that of Erik Barnouw) provide evidence of the

"organizing ideas and images" used by Americans to make sense out of the technology of radio. What she actually does is provide an interesting account of the organizing ideas and images provided for appropriation by people in the press, but no evidence of the extent to which such ideas and images were adopted by individuals. What she does is valuable, but it is not precisely what she suggests to be her aim in the essay.

Newspaper and magazine reports, hearing records and other contemporaneous accounts are being used increasingly as sources by historians as measures of the pulse of an age. That, I think, are a valuable step forward in scholarship. But we must be cautious about what we claim to know as a result of studying such contemporaneous documents. They do tell us how the press, for instance, was presenting change to its publics, but they do not tell us how the public was responding either to the changes or to the accounts of them. A more tedious research strategy must be employed to enable us to know public response – or at least some public response. That is the study of recorded response, in personal letters, diaries, letters to newspaper editors, telegrams, petitions, resolutions of organized interest groups, memoirs, recorded oral histories, and so on. Without examining such ephemeral and often uncatalogued material, our conclusions must remain tentative, and the language used to state those conclusions guarded. Otherwise, we fall into the trap of mainline historians who often want to make more of the recorded history of the press than can reasonably be maintained.

The third group of essays includes two: Michael Schudson's "Women, Cigarette, and Advertising in the 1920s: A Study in the Sociology of Consumption," and Mark Facker's "Moral Guardians of the Movies and Social Responsibilty of the Press: Two Movements toward a Moral Center." Both of these essays are useful "debunkers" of myths which often interfere in scholar's efforts to understand history. Schudson's essay is a preview of his more extended argument in *Advertising, The Uneasy Persuasion: Its Dubious Impact on American Society* (New York: Basic Books, Inc, Publishers, 1984). It is a careful study of the conventional wisdom (or myth) that advertising causes consumption of products to increase. This conclusion, he says, "requires a second look," for "The historical record makes this position difficult to sustain for a number of reasons..." (p. 71). He then provides a very readable and persuasive argument against assuming that advertising is a powerful causative agent – the evidence of history provides no clear evidence that such is the case.

Fackler's essay examines the movement of social responsibility theorists and moral guardians – such as the Legion of Decency – toward a center position on which they shared "common ground...on fundamental issues" (p. 193). Reading the essay leads the reader to the conclusion that the "bad press" which "self-appointed" guardians of the nation's morals have received may not be justified. Rather than concentrating only on the prohibitive goals of such groups, Fackler suggests, we should recognize the positive end that they sought – infusion of the redemptive life-force of the Church into the whole body of society (p. 186). The end they sought, he says, was not so very different than the goal envisioned by William Ernest Hocking or the Hutchins Commission. Though the essay seems to end rather abruptly, it is a useful introduction to a complex subject of obvious relevance to our own age.

John E. O'Connor's edited volume is more explanatory than the Covert/-Stevens work. Its purpose, as O'Connor puts it in the "Preface," is "to demonstrate some of the ways in which political, social, cultural, and other historians are beginning ot study television both as a force in recent history and as a medium for scholarly research" (p. ix). In addition to O'Connor's own Introduction, the book includes fourteen other essays, examining both television entertainment (*Amos'n'Andy*, Milton Berle, *Marty*, the Smothers Brothers, *Brian's Song*, *Roots* and *The Guiding Light*) and news/public affairs (*See It Now*, *You Are There*, *Nightmare in Red*, Richard Nixon and Edward Kennedy's television personae, and *The Selling of the Pentagon*). O'Connor also provides a "selective and impressionistic chronology" of American television from 1873 to 1983 – the early dates refer to technological development which make television possible – and a "Guide to Archival and Manuscript Sources for the Study of Television" which are both useful for classroom and scholarly activities.

This book is notable for its accomplishment and for its failure. Its accomplishment is a major one. It resurrects ephemeral yet significant representations of American life and thought and stands as a testament to the importance of giving serious thought to the television medium and its content. It serves, too, as a useful adjunct to Horace Newcomb's *Television: The Critical View* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982, 3rd.), at once more particular and with a greater historical breadth. The book's failure is the result of its reach exceeding its grasp. John E. O'Connor's introduction, for instance, makes a common and regrettable mistake in his claim that, "in a very real sense, *television is American Culture...*" (p. xiv, emphasis in original). He justifies this remark by saying that, "At least for the vast majority of Americans – people who may never attend a play or a concert, visit a musuem, or read a book – TV is all there is." Apart from the fact that this comment is pure hyperbole, and ignores the evidence that heavy users of any single medium tend to be heavy users of other media, it also fails to separate "art" from "culture." Television is an *art* form because it represents the empirical world through artistic means – narrative structure and characterization (both natural and fictional), the balance of mass, light and movement in confined space through compostiton and picturization, and the visualization of internal states (both emotional and cognitive) in dialogue, action and relationships. Television is a dramatic art in both its fiction and non-fiction modes. But that does not make it "culture."

Culture is created not by artists, but by people who appropriate art as an expression of their own experience. The significance of television is not that it portrays experience, but that its portrayals are accepted (and may even be copied) by audiences as legitimate and accurate interpretations of and for their own lives. When people determine that a representation is expressive of their own understandings, aspirations and values, that is when they accept and celebrate a given representation, then it is a part of their culture. But it is not in itself culture – it is art. People use art to come to know something about themselves; in their participation culture comes to be defined and incorporated. Identities are constructed, maintained or altered.

This basic distinction has been blurred by many who claim to study "popular culture." But it is important to re-establish the distinction to avoid

losing the "audience" as a central element in cultural scholarship. The distinction reminds us that culture doesn't spring as Minerva, full-grown from the head of Zeus, but is crafted by members of a society in collaboration with those who represent it – in reports, legislation, industrial and artistic products, and so on. Audiences are active, declaring their desires, judging artifacts, accepting and discarding, celebrating and denigrating. Unfortunately, O'Connor's book – which discusses art – purports to explain culture, which is a different, though related matter.

The book deserves a reading, however. My criticism is more of a plea for greater precision in the discussion of art and culture than it is a condemnation of the work in this volume.

There are no over-arching themes in this book which make the essays easy to group for purposes of review. Therefore, I have selected five representative works to indicate the content of the whole.

The first essay is Robert F. Horowitz's "History Comes to Life and *Your Are There*." Horowitz's essay examines the CBS network program which attempted to "reconstruct history faithfully as it had been made" (p. 79). The program aired between 1953 and 1957, and presented about 140 different segments. Twenty-five percent of these shows were on subjects within the living memory of the audience.

Horowitz claims that the writers of the program took little dramatic license with the facts, beyond telescoping time, and developed approximately 60 percent of the dialogue of the programs from published sources (p. 82). He also places the production of the program within its own historical context – the political and intellectual timidity of the early 1950's – and suggests that,"This intellectual climate of opinion stressing historical continuity influenced the emerging television industry and affected *You Are There* in several ways. The individual shows did not avoid interpretation; a point of view was expressed, but strong ideological statements were scrupulously avoided" (p. 85). In spite of the show's efforts to be noncontroversial and within the mainstream of American mythology, he says, the ideas presented to the mass audience by the program were sophisticated (p. 91). He ends the essay by noting some of the show's failings (pp. 92, 93).

There are minor probems with Horowitz's work. He quotes Charles Russell, the show's first producer, for instance, as saying "60 percent of the dialogue came from letters, speeches, newspapers, or other published sources" – without comment – though he mentions one program, "Cortez Conquers Mexico," and a scene between Cortez and his Indian interpreter that leaves the reader wondering, one page later, where such a conversation was recorded (pp. 81, 82). Such a conversation could have been part of the unrecorded 40 percent, of course, but an obvious conclusion in that the division between "fact" and "fiction" on *You Are There* would be a function of the "age" of a particular segment, with relatively more recorded material available on more recent subjects. The 60-40 split, then, may refer to the divisions between recorded-unrecorded material on the program as a whole, and not within each broadcast, although the latter is implied by the Russell quotation. This should have been clairified by Horowitz. This essay is a good representative of several other essays in the book which are valuable, though slightly flawed.

Probably the two best essays in the book are those by Kenneth Hey on *Marty* and Leslie Fishbein on *Roots*. The strength of Hey's essay is in its concentration on the medium of television as a presentational form for drama distinct from the stage. His comments concern both the nature of drama within the two presentational modes – stage drama as social criticism and television drama as individual moral conflict created within a larger society – and on television itself as a presentational medium in which content is structured within the limitation of time and space imposed by the medium. (pp. 102, 103). As part of this second focus, Hey details how the commerical structure of television institutions affects the development of plot structures in their content (pp. 113-115), and how the technologies used to produce programs affect the nature of drama presented on televsision (pp. 116-117).

Fishbein's essay emphasizes the relationship of *Roots'* content to its audience. Although he discusses what his title promises – "Docudrama and the Interpretation of History" – he also does a good deal more. For instance, he relates the audience's reaction to *Roots*, and the program's significance in the portrayal of blacks on tlelvision as a visible and admirable people. He also discusses how the programs were crafted, and stars hired, to cater to the white middle-class sensibility which would determine *Roots'* success or failure as a commercial effort.

These two essays succeed because their authors resist the temptation to claim more than their evidence suggests. They do not grope for significance by suggesting that these programs represented the sensibilities of their audiences, but limit themselves to discussing the artistry of the programs, and – in Fishbein's case – the effort to reach audience sensibility through techniques which affected the artistry of the product. The relationship between commerical necessity and artistic production is threaded through each commentary.

Other essays in this book do not succeed nearly so well, though I would not call any of them failures. Douglas Gomery's suggestions about the success of *Brian's Song*, for instance, are too facile, beginning with his suggestion that the movie "fulfilled a cultural need: topical entertainment reaffirming basic values and beliefs," and ending with the assertion that, "the film reconstituted a potent mix of popular mythic material during an era when many Americans seemed confused about fundamental conceptions of race, sex, and economics" (pp. 217, 223). The problem with Gomery's essay is its level of generalization. Were the Americans who watched *Brian's Song* confused about race, sex and economics? And what of those who watched something else – were they less confused, or confused about other fundamental conceptions? And if people were confused, how is it that "basic values and beliefs" could be reaffirmed by the film?

Gomery simply is not as persuasive as Fishbein. He has examined a popular film, looked for reasons to explain its popularity, and then speculated about those he determined to be most significant on the basis of the perceived content of the film. But such a procedure applied to popular television content as a whole would lead us to contradiction and confusion, not reaffirmation of basic beliefs. So the rationale for explaining audience behavior on the basis of widely-viewed television content is left unexplained, and the argument based in such an effort remains unpersuasive.

Robert C. Allen's essay about *The Guiding Light* suffers from some malady. Allen approaches this soap opera from the perspective of semiotics, and suggests at one point that we should "begin to see the complexity of the soap opera as a conveyor of meaning." (p. 317) Such an approach treats programs as containers of meaning which the audience simply accepts or rejects as provided. But it is, in fact, audiences which determine whether or not any program – or any artifact, piece of art, news report, or law – has meaning for them. And they determine, too, what that meaning is, as the studies of Norman Lear's *All in the Family* have shown. Audiences do not necessarily understand (or want to understand) the "meaning" which any writer or producer assumes they will receive from a program. And Allen fails to suggest why the research results on selective perception and retention should be ignored (or judged irrelevant) when the subject of study is television programs.

In spite of its shortcomings, O'Connor's book is a valuable one. It provides much analysis useful for provoking discussion in history courses, and many examples which would liven the students' reading and provide them with a fuller understanding of media history than would be achieved in history texts concentrating on persons, companies, policies and technologies. Even the major criticism I have tried to make here would provide useful grist for a class concerned with the significance of television programming in history. The problem of determining what, if anything, television content suggests about those who watch it is a useful enterprise among students – who themselves constitute a major audience for such content.

In spite of my reservations, then, about these two books, I suggest that they be read and reviewed for possible inclusion in communication and journalism history courses. None of us, I suspect, can say why all of what we teach in history courses is significant history. And we have all taught students suspicious of our motives and selections. These two books provide the means to broaden our approaches, wrestle with on-going historical problems and demonstrate to students new knowledge is forged in the marketplace of ideas.

Robert Fortner
George Washington University

Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker. *By Nancy L. Roberts.* Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, Albany 1984. 226 pp. Cloth, $36.50; paper, $12.95.

Robert's book is an admiring biography of Dorothy Day, and an institutional history of the *Catholic Worker*, the socially reformist monthly newspaper Day founded. A thoroughly researched book, with a previous incarnation as Ph.D. dissertation, it adds considerably to scholarly knowledge of the religious press.

Although Roberts focuses narrowly on Day and her publication, her book is in the vein of Lauren Kessler's *Dissident Press* (1984), and Roland E.

Wolseley's *Black Press, USA* (1971). The similarity is that each book expands the frontier of scholarly knowledge concerning alternative journalism. In addition, Roberts' and Kessler's books deal with the journalism of ideas, a topic of concern to journalism historians interested in intellectual history.

If Roberts book is admiring, it should be pointed out that there was much to admire about Day, a woman so selfless, persevering and dedicated to social reform guided by spiritual values that some observers thought her a saint. But Day, herself, a woman with a checkered, bohemian youth, and a relentlessly practical approach to life, would have, and did, dismiss the idea of saintliness.

Day (b. 1897, d. 1980) born in Brooklyn into a family of journalists, received two years of college in Illinois, and then lived in Greenwich Village, where she wrote for radical publications such as the *Masses*, the Socialist *Call*, and the *Liberator*. She took her radicalism seriously, writing on social reform topics, staying up late drinking with Hart Crane and Eugene O'Neill in bohemian clubs, popping in and out of love affairs, and having an abortion and an illegitimate baby.

When 30, she converted to Catholicism, and met Peter Maurin (b. 1877, d. 1949), a French Catholic ascetic and philosopher, who became Day's mentor. His spirit and ideas dominated Day's outlook thenceforth. The key values he taught and practiced, and which constituted the editorial philosophy of the *Catholic Worker* were: communitarian Christianity (living in a close-knit community), personalism (accepting full personal responsibility for social justice), pacifism and nonviolence, and voluntary poverty.

From this core of teachings grew the Catholic Worker movement, which found expression in the founding of Houses of Hospitality (urban religious and relief communes), farming communes, and the *Catholic Worker* newspaper in 1933. From its beginning the newspaper synthesized radical-left social-reform values with core Christian values in a monthly newspaper format that was deftly edited and artfully packaged.

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The inspirational value of the *Catholic Worker* was not in its circulation figures, which ranged up to 190,000 in 1938, down to 50,000 in 1944, and back up to 103,000 in 1983. Its value was as a vehicle of thoughtful comment, of uncompromising integrity, and of unswerving moral purpose. In short, the *Catholic Worker* was a vehicle of journalism ideas, undebased by commercial bias, by militaristic nationalism, and by pandering to an ill-educated public.

Not surprisingly a number of bright stars at various times wrote for the *Catholic Worker*. Among them were Louis Mumford, Maria Montessori and the Berrigan brothes. Michael Harrington, author of the *Other America*, was an editor for two years. Striking woodcuts by Fritz Eichenberg illustrated the paper's densely printed columns. Day, before her death in 1980, contributed over 1,000 articles, essays and columns.

Typical editorial fare over the years included Maurin's "easy essays" (didactic messages), the topics of pacifism, moral values, philosophical critiques, exposes of the plight of farmers and farm-workers, peace activism, tax resistance, disarmament, foreign policy, exploitation of the poor and social justice. Advocacy of peace struck J. Edgar Hoover as subversive. He tried three times in the 1950s to have Day prosecuted for sedition. She was jailed several times for acting on her pacifistic beliefs. The IRS harassed Day with a malicious prosecution for back taxes, that was eventually dropped for lack of substance.

Robert's book is a welcome addition to the recently published *Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker: A Bibliography and Index*, a reference guide. The book is written in a lucid, compressed style, moving easily between narrative and ideas. The depth of research is made evident by the extensive endnotes based on a wide variety of sources, and the skillful presentation of the content analysis findings of the *Catholic Worker*'s themes. Photos and woodcuts throughout the text add an important illustrative dimension, although one would like to see a couple of reprints of *Catholic Worker* front pages. Roberts' useful discussion of the journalistic context of the religious press seems misplaced at the end, and would probably help orient the reader better if placed near the beginning.

Overall, Roberts' book highlights the paucity of discussion of the religious press in the leading journalism history text. The total discussion of the religious press in Emery and Emey's 1984 text consists of part of one paragraph on page 527, and three paragraphs on page 574. (Most of the material on the latter page concerns Day.) Equally disturbing is the Emery treatment of the religious press, sandwiching it in with a discussion of political-alternative publications. Robert's book illuminates a fertile scholarly field: the mapping of the religious – moral press, and assessing its role of leavening the lump of both mainstream journalism and public attitudes.

William Parmenter
University of Akron

Children's Periodicals of the United States. *Edited by R. Gordon Kelly.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984. 589 pp. Index. Cloth, $49.95.

This is the first extensive survey of children's periodicals published in America. As an historical guide, *Children's Periodicals* is a useful survey and catalog of magazines published over a 200-year period. The collection is arranged alphabetically so it is easy to trace specific periodicals. A "Chronological Listing of Magazines" is also included as an appendix so it is easy to track publications for specific periods.

Like most surveys, *Children's Periodicals* embodies the conscious choice to emphasize breadth instead of depth. The book provides helpful background information and basic publication data for all the periodicals within its wide

scope, but the commentary for each magazine remains necessarily scant and limited primarily to sweeping summaries of editorial content.

Still, *Children's Periodicals* is a helpful addition to the bibliographical materials available for magazines. Despite its shortcomings, it should prove valuable as a research tool and teaching aid in magazine history.

Roy Alden Atwood
University of Idaho

The Letters of Margaret Fuller: Vol. III: 1842-44. *Edited by Robert N. Hudspeth.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984. 272 pp. Index. Illus. Cloth, $25.

Margaret Fuller was a journalist of exceptional note, a woman of incredible skills and energies. Her work as writer, editor, critic and foreign correspondent during the first half of the 19th century brought her into contact with some of the great journalistic and literary figures of her day.

This third volume of her collected letters brings together her notes and correspondence from 1842 through 1844, a key period in her journalistic career. The letters begin with her decision to resign as editor of *The Dial*, the transcendentalist quarterly, after she realized she would never be paid for her labors by Ralph Waldo Emerson and A. Bronson Alcott, the magazine's sponsors. The letters conclude with her decision to accept Horace Greeley's offer to hire her as a book reviewer for *The Daily Tribune*.

The Letters of Margaret Fuller is a carefully edited and annotated book. Hudspeth has taken great care to provide the precise details of his editorial methods. The result is a book of exceptional scholarly merit that offers a penetrating look into the mind and motives of an exceptional woman journalist.

Roy Alden Atwood
University of Idaho

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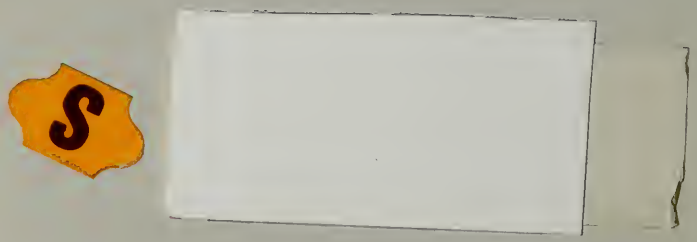
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